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THE H. W. WILSON COMPANY
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INTRODUCTORY NOTE

President Wilson has called the attention of this country, in various addresses, to the need for a reserve force of some kind to act as a protection for our territory in times of peace and as a defense in case of war.

Many plans have been suggested for supplying this need, and military education of the citizen body has been regarded favorably.

The interest in the subject has caused a great and increasing demand for material. To supply the first demand a pamphlet was issued in the Abridged Debaters' Handbook Series, entitled, "Selected Articles on Military Training," which was compiled by Miss Corinne Bacon.

A little of the material in that pamphlet has been incorporated in this volume, but the greater part of the excerpts are of a later date. The brief is entirely new and the bibliography much enlarged. In keeping with the general plan of the series, this volume contains a brief giving both affirmative and negative sides of the question, a selected bibliography, and reprints of material on the subject. It is hoped that the volume may prove useful to students, debaters, and citizens wishing to inform themselves with regard to this subject.

The editor wishes to acknowledge her indebtedness to Miss Corinne Bacon for material collected, and to Miss Edith M. Phelps for many helpful suggestions.

AGNES VAN VALKENBURGH.

December 1, 1916.

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CONTENTS

BRIEF

Introduction xiii
Affirmative xiv
Negative xvi

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bibiographies xix
General References xix
Affirmative References xxix
Negative References xli
Military Training Camps xlvii

INTRODUCTION 1

GENERAL DISCUSSION

Preparedness versus Militarism.....World's Work 7
Shaw, Albert. Problems of the Common Defense.....
.....Proceedings of Academy of Political Science 8
The Army for a Democracy.....Outlook 10
Smith, Munroe. Universal Military Service and Democracy.....Proceedings of Academy of Political Science 13
Willey, Day A. Our Schoolboy Soldiers.....Munsey 15
Military Drill in the Public Schools.....Literary Digest 22
Hadley, Arthur T. Military Training of College Students.. 25
Compulsory Universal Training. Report of the Massachusetts Special Commission, 1915..... 28
McCurdy, James H. Military Training vs. Physical Education in School and College.....
.....American Physical Education Review 31
Swiss Military Training.....American Defense Society 33
Wood, Eric F. The Swiss System..... 35
Grande, Julian. The Swiss System; Its Possible Application to the United States..... 36

Brodney, Spencer. Australia's Citizen Army.....
.....New York Evening Post 39
Wheeler, Howard D. Australian Military Training..... 42
The Wyoming Plan—U. S. Army War College—Outline of Plan for Military Training in Public Schools of the United States 43
Military Training in Colleges.....Information 47
Hickok, Howard R. Military Education—Pro and Con.....
.....Military Service Institution Journal 48

Affirmative Discussion

Stockton, Richard, Jr. Military Training—Valuable and Valueless.....Military Service Institution Journal 51
Moss, James A. The Patriot's Military Creed..... 60
Maxim, Hudson. The Needs of Our Army..... 60
Wood, Leonard. Reasonable Preparation for War..... 62
Huidekoper, F. C. Importance of Training..... 66
West, Henry L. Universal Military Service.....
.....American Defense 68
Taylor, J. M. When Military Training Should Begin.....
.....Mind and Body 76
College Heads on Military Training.....
.....Army and Navy Journal 78
Carter, William H. A Citizen Reserve..... 80
Fairman, Charles. Military Training in Colleges.....
.....American Defense 81
Foote, Stephen M. Military Service for College Men.....
.....Military Service Institution Journal 84
White, Andrew D. Military Training for Students.....
.....Army and Navy Journal 86
Goodrich, Caspar F. What Shall We Do for Our Boys?
.....American Review of Reviews 87
Harrison, Benjamin. Military Instruction in Schools and Colleges.....Century Magazine 91
Crampton, C. Ward. Proper Training for Schoolboys.....
.....Army and Navy Journal 92
Drill in the Schools is Popular.....Army and Navy Journal 94
Keller, Kent E. American School Army...Harper's Weekly 95
Wood, Eric F. A Proposed Military System..... 100
Green, Leon M. Military Training in the Schools of Sumter, S. C.....American Review of Reviews 101

Creel, George. Wyoming's Answer to Militarism..... Everybody's 105
Castle, William R., Jr. Military Training a Necessity..... 113

NEGATIVE DISCUSSION

James, William. Moral Equivalent of War..... 117
Villard, Oswald G. The Universal Military Service Cure-All .....Nation 119
Meiklejohn, Alexander. A Schoolmaster's View of Compulsory Military Training.....School and Society 122
Levermore, Charles H. Military Training and Preparedness 129
Hull, William I. Objections to Military Training..... 131
Morrison, Henry C. The Schools and Defence..... .....Journal of Education 135
Sharpless, Isaac. Military Training in Schools and Colleges 138
Lochner, Louis P. Should There Be Military Training in the Public Schools?.....Advocate of Peace 144
Randall, Charles H. Teaching the Horrible Science of War in the Public Schools.....Congressional Record 148
Schaeffer, Nathan C. Military Training in Schools..... 151
Wetzel, William A. Military Training in Schools..... 153
Root, Robert C. Military Training: 12 Objections..... 155
Allen, William C. Military Training—Do We Want It?.... 158
Jordan, David Starr. Military Training in American High Schools.....Advocate of Peace 162
Cowing, Walter S. Military Training in Schools..... 166
Brumbaugh, M. G. Letter..... 167
Sargent, Dudley A. Military Drill in the Public Schools..... .....Mind and Body 167
Resolutions on Military Training in the Public Schools Adopted by the Pennsylvania Arbitration and Peace Society 171
We Object to Military Drill for Boys Under Eighteen..... 173
Yarnall, Stanley R. Wyoming System; An Investigation... 174
Compulsory Military Drill—A Great College Menace..... ...Students' Anti-Drill Society, University of Washington 178
Princeton Students Opposed to Military Training..... .....Advocate of Peace 181
Resolutions of the Socialists on Military Training..... .....New York Evening Post 182

MILITARY TRAINING CAMPS

Garrison, Lindley M. What We Need.....Harper's Weekly 185
Wood, Leonard. Students' Military Instruction Camp.....
.....Harvard Illustrated Magazine 187
Dorey, Halstead. The Plattsburg Contribution to Military
Training....Proceedings of Academy of Political Science 190
Marsh, Robert M. Plattsburg's Second Year.....
.....American Defense 193
Page, Ralph W. What I Learned at Plattsburg.....
.....World's Work 199
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American Defense League, 15 Broad Street, New York.

American League to Limit Armaments, Room 509, 43 Cedar Street, New York.

American Legion, Room 303, Maritime Building, 10 Bridge Street, New York.

American Peace Society, 31 Beacon Street, Boston, or Colorado Building, Washington, D. C., or 1119 Hobart Building, San Francisco.

American School Peace League, 405 Marlborough Street, Boston.

American Union against Militarism, Munsey Building, Washington, D. C.

Anti-Enlistment League, 61 Quincy Street, Brooklyn.

Association to Abolish War, 12 Hazelwood Street, Roxbury, Boston.

Church Peace Union, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York.

Collegiate Anti-Militarism League, Sub-station 84, New York.

International Peace Forum, 18 East 41st Street, New York.

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Patriotic Instructors' Association, 314 West 53d Street, New York.

Peace Association of Friends, 20 South 12th Street, Philadelphia.

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World Peace Foundation, 40 Mt. Vernon Street, Boston.

BRIEF

RESOLVED: That a system of compulsory military training in schools and colleges should be adopted by the United States.

INTRODUCTION

I. Some addition to our means of defense is necessary to insure the safety of our nation.
   A. Our standing army is too small.
   B. The State militia has not proven adequate as a reserve.
   C. Conscription, allowing a hired substitute, is contrary to the ideals of a democracy.

II. The reasons for our insufficient defense are:
   A. The long period of peace we have enjoyed.
   B. The feeling of security caused by our isolated position.
   C. The confidence in our wealth and strength as a deterrent to attack.
   D. The growth of pacifism.

III. Remedies proposed for our unprotected condition are:
   A. The increase of our hired regular army.
   B. The federalization of our militia.
   C. The continental army plan.
   D. A military academy in each state.
   E. A reserve of enlisted men with some military training.
   F. The improvement of the facilities of the land-grant colleges already having military instruction.
   G. Universal military education.

IV. The issues seem to be:
   A. Is compulsory military training of some sort essential for our national safety?
   B. Is such training in educational institutions the best method for its accomplishment?

AFFIRMATIVE

I. Compulsory military training in schools and colleges is satisfactory from a military point of view.
   A. It form the simplest basis for a large army.
      1. A large standing army in expensive and undemocratic.
      2. The State militia is insufficient to form a reserve.
      3. A volunteer army has always proven inadequate in time of stress.
      4. Such instruction would furnish the training essential for a citizen army.
   B. It furnishes a sufficiently large force.
      1. Enough officers are insured for demands in the field.
      2. Officers are provided as instructors for the army.
      3. A sufficient army is supplied in case of war.
      4. Ample protection is assured for our foreign possessions and for home defense.
   C. It is the cheapest kind of protection.
      1. Training is given when little additional expense is incurred for instructors.
      2. The army need be called together only when imperative.
      3. The soldier is not removed from industrial pursuits.
      4. Such training never has proven a detriment to the student.
      5. Training after war begins is wasteful of men and money.
   D. It is not foreign to our traditions.
      1. The training is not primarily to make soldiers but to fit citizens quickly for defense.
      2. Such education increases the usefulness of the student to the nation.
      3. The habits inculcated by the training prepare the student for positions of responsibility in other callings.
      4. The need for conscription is prevented.
      5. Peace is encouraged, since lack of defense increases likelihood of attack.

II. Compulsory military training is needed in schools and colleges for its educational value.
   A. It is a means of physical betterment.
      1. The student's carriage and poise are improved.
      2. Health is promoted through vigorous out-door exercise.
      3. Gymnastic exercises are not equally thorough.
      4. Bad habits are discouraged.
   B. It is desirable for intellectual improvement.
      1. Attention is quickened.
      2. An unconscious habit of obedience is formed.
      3. Power of application is developed.
      4. Self respect is increased.
   C. It results in moral benefit.
      1. School discipline is assisted.
      2. Selfishness is curbed.
      3. Self control is taught.
      4. Respect for law and order is inculcated.
      5. A sense of responsibility and helpfulness is developed.
   D. The students themselves want it.
      1. The change from classroom work in stimulating.
      2. They have been unwilling to have it dropped from the curriculum.
      3. They wish to prepare themselves to aid in the protection of their country.

III. Compulsory military training in educational institutions encourages true democracy.
   A. The unfortunately placed student is given an opportunity for acquaintance with all other students.
   B. All pupils are put on a common basis, rich or poor, studious or indolent, black or white.
   C. Cliques and exclusive organizations are discouraged.
   D. A better understanding is created between employer and employed.
   E. Patriotism is stimulated.
   F. Immigration of citizens undesirable in this country is hindered.
   G. Love of war will not be fostered, since the knowledge of military matters increases the horror of war and creates a greater desire to avoid it.

NEGATIVE

I. Compulsory training in schools and colleges is unnecessary for military purposes.
   - A. Our present army is sufficient for our protection.
   - B. Long military training is unnecessary to develop soldierly qualities.
   - C. Such training has been removed from the curriculum of institutions which have tried it.
   - D. The training of officers is too highly specialized to be taught in regular schools.
   - E. More soldiers would be educated than would ever be needed.
   - F. A large military force encourages the idea of fighting.
   - G. We have no enemy who wishes to fight us.
   - H. The ends of education are antagonistic to the ends of war.

II. Compulsory military training is a detriment to the schools.
   - A. The curriculum is already overcrowded.
     1. Studies desirable for civil education must be omitted for lack of time.
     2. Schools are intended to train for citizenship and not for war.
     3. The teaching of patriotism is enough.
     4. Other studies are better fitted to secure moral discipline.
   - B. Military training is overrated as physical exercise.
     1. Gymnastic exercises are better as all-round drill.
     2. Children are too young to train with a musket, it has produced deformity.
     3. Exercise in uniform is unhealthful.
     4. Physical defects are increased.
     5. Grace and ease of carriage are not produced.
   - C. Such training is impractical in the school course of study.
     1. It tends to lower the standards.
     2. Students are given a distaste for military service.
     3. The training is given in the mass, rather than individual instruction.
     4. It is contrary to the wishes of a large number of our people.

5. Students themselves do not want it.
6. If necessary, it can be given outside of school hours.

D. Too much expense is incurred in the training.
1. Individual outlay is necessary for uniforms, etc.
2. Time of students is wasted which might better be spent on other studies.
3. School money is expended which should be used for manual and industrial training.
4. Time spent in training is a loss to commercial pursuits.

III. True democracy is discouraged by such training.
A. The spirit of good citizenship is not inculcated.
1. Blind obedience is enforced and no play is given for exercise of judgment.
2. Students get the idea that we are educating them to fight.
3. The belief is encouraged that differences between nations can only be settled by war.
4. There is danger that military discipline may take the place of moral character.
5. The spirit of militarism is developed.

B. Patriotism would not be promoted, or a perverted patriotism would be substituted, as, my country right or wrong.

C. Schools should inculcate principles which make war unnecessary.

D. Immigration would be discouraged, as many Europeans come to this country to avoid military service.

E. Any formidable military preparedness is repugnant to the ideals of a republic.

F. The greater the preparedness of a nation the greater the likelihood that it will engage in war.

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SELECTED ARTICLES ON MILITARY TRAINING IN SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES

INTRODUCTION

The unrest in Mexico and the war in Europe, especially the condition of Belgium, have combined to arouse an unparalleled interest in the military affairs of this country. A year and a half ago there was practically no expression of public sentiment on the subject of universal military training, but now there is active discussion concerning it in all parts of the country.

When President Wilson outlined his defense program in the speech before the Manhattan Club, November 4, 1915, he said:

> In accordance with our American traditions we want and shall work for only an army adequate to the constant and legitimate uses of times of international peace. But we do want to feel that there is a great body of citizens who have received at least the most rudimentary and necessary forms of military training; that they will be ready to form themselves into a fighting force at the call of the nation; and that the nation has the munitions and supplies with which to equip them without delay should it be necessary to call them into action. We wish to supply them with the training they need, and we think we can do so without calling them at any time too long away from their civilian pursuits.

Previous to this time, Secretary of War Garrison had made public a plan for national defense, October 15, 1915, which was approved by the President, and which provided, among other increases in the army, for a citizen army of 400,000 men, to be raised at the rate of 133,000 a year for three years. For convenience this force was called by Mr. Garrison, the continental army. It was to be recruited territorially, according to population. Its members, though enlisted for six-year terms, would be required to report for intensive training only for short periods for the first three years, and during the remaining three years would be furloughed subject to call in time of war or threatened invasion. This plan was not adopted by Congress. A bill was introduced in the Senate, December 13, 1915, by Mr. Chamberlain, "To provide for the military and naval training of

the citizen forces of the United States," which included the training of all male citizens between the ages of twelve and forty-three years. The Hay-Chamberlain bill as signed by the President, June 2, provides that the expenses of all who attend the training camps established by the War Department shall be paid by the Government, and a reserve officers' training corps is authorized to be established at schools and colleges where an officer of the army is detailed for the purpose of giving military instruction and training. The Secretary of War is to prescribe the courses of military training at such schools and colleges.

December 6, 1915, Mr. McKellar introduced a bill in the House, "To establish and maintain military training schools in the several states of the Union," each of these state academies to have not less than 300 students, selected by competitive examination.

January 5, 1916, Mr. McCumber introduced a bill in the Senate, "To establish volunteer military training camps for high school students." These were to convene during the summer months, under the instruction of officers of the regular army. All enlistments were to be voluntary and no boy under the age of twenty-one was to be received without consent of his parents or guardian.

February 29, 1916, Mr. William R. Wood called the attention of the members of the House to the fact that by the Morrill Act of 1862, we already had 67 colleges in which 25,000 students receive military instruction, the War Department furnishing the necessary military equipment and a regular officer of the army as instructor. In these so-called land grant colleges all the students are technically trained at public expense and are already instructed in the elements of military science, hence only slight modifications of the present laws are necessary to broaden the training of these students in military matters and to incorporate them as a part of the reserve military force of the country.

The nation-wide interest following the discussion of military training in Congress has been demonstrated in many ways. The Chamber of Commerce of the United States with its membership of 300,000 business men indorsed a system of universal training and service by a vote of 889 for to 56 against. A referendum vote taken by the Baltimore Sun in a number of states showed 8,186 for universal service and 1,055 against.

The resolution of the Merchants' Association of New York adopted at their meeting in May of this year recommended military training of the entire male population physically able to bear arms, such training to be during the non-productive period of their lives before they have taken up their profession, business or vocation.

The Chicago school board, without a dissenting vote, adopted a resolution making the rudiments of military training a part of the curriculum of the high schools.

During the convention of the National Education Association in New York, the National Security League submitted a resolution urging "That a system of universal physical training, as nearly as practicable similar to the system in vogue in Switzerland, be introduced in the elementary schools of the United States, and that instruction in the rudiments of military drill be established in the high schools and colleges." While the National Education Association did not accept this suggestion in its entirety, it adopted a resolution saying: "While it recognizes that the community or the state may introduce such elements of military training into the schools as may seem wise and prudent, yet it believes that such training should be strictly educational in its aim and organization, and that military ends should not be permitted to pervert the educational purposes and practices of the schools." This is a marked change from the stand taken by the teachers the year before, when the Association passed a resolution against military training, declaring it "inconsistent with American ideals and standards."

During December, 1915, a postcard canvass conducted by the Chicago Tribune among the parents of students in the Chicago high schools on the question of introducing military training into the schools resulted in an overwhelming vote in favor of the proposition. The total replies reach 2,816, of which 2,453, or 87 per cent., were favorable. The showing made has surprised even advocates of an adequate military training system in Chicago.

Two military education measures became law in New York State, May 15, 1916, when Governor Whitman signed them as the culmination of a public hearing at which men and women representatives of peace organizations and four students opposed particularly the compulsory training legislation. The measures were:

The Welsh-Slater bill authorizing the Board of Regents to inaugurate a course of compulsory physical training for all public and private school pupils more than 8 years old.

The Welsh-Slater bill, a companion measure, providing for the compulsory military training of all boys of the State between 16 and 19 years of age, except those regularly employed as a means of livelihood. The course is to be given after school hours, and provision is made for Summer volunteer camps.

California provides for organization, control, and equipment of high school cadet companies. Boston has a system of military training, military drill, and athletics for high schools. This comprises its whole system of physical training. Providence, R. I., has introduced military drill into the high school.

New Jersey, Massachusetts, and Ohio legislatures of 1916, created commissions to consider the advisability of establishing military training in those states.

In the institutions for higher education, besides the land grant colleges previously mentioned, Harvard, Princeton, the University of Minnesota, Bowdoin and Williams colleges have incorporated military training or instruction in their regular courses of study.

The anti-militaristic movement has spread rapidly among the collegiate institutions. Columbia and Barnard have organized Common Sense Leagues. Other colleges which have formed leagues for the purpose of molding student opinion against war and exaggerated military preparations are: Princeton, Harvard, Pennsylvania, Trinity, Cornell, Yale, Washington State, and New York universities.

The students feel that it is scarcely wise to imitate the policies of the European nations which have led to war, instead of preventing it. They believe in adequate defense, but they believe also that students and educators can accomplish more permanent work for peace by promoting international understanding, studying calmly the causes of war and the possibility of working to remove them, discussing intelligently the problem of world organization—breaking down barriers rather than building them up.

The consensus of opinion as to military training seems to

favor some system based on that of Switzerland or Australia, but adapted to meet the needs of the larger nation.

The interest in military camps for students of school or college age seems to be increasing, though there is no feeling expressed by those who have attended them, that they turn out a finished product.

The reprints selected give material on all the points under consideration. When two equally valuable articles have been found, we have quoted from the one less easily accessible. A list of societies which are working for or against national defense, including military training, will be found at the beginning of the book.

AGNES VAN VALKENBURGH.

December 1, 1916.

GENERAL DISCUSSION

PREPAREDNESS VERSUS MILITARISM[1]

The President, in speaking to an anti-militarist delegation that visited him, explained to them a thing which apparently is much misunderstood in this country.

He defined the difference between militarism and preparedness:

> I should say it was not inconsistent with the traditions of the country that the people should know how to take care of themselves; but it is inconsistent with the traditions of the country that their knowledge of arms should be used by a governmental organization which would make and organize a great army subject to orders, to do what a particular group of men might at the time think it was best to have it do. That is the militarism of Europe, where a few persons can determine what an armed nation is to do. That is what I understand militarism to be.
>
> But a nation acquainted with arms is not a militaristic nation, unless there is somebody who can by an order determine what they shall all do with that force. I think we ought to be very careful not to let these different things seem as if they were the same.

To have militarism, then, you must have the Government in the control of "a few persons who can determine what an armed nation is to do" or "somebody who can by an order determine what they shall all do with that force." In other words to have militarism you must have an autocracy, a ruling "few," or an absolute monarchy, a "somebody" who can rule by order. In a democracy you cannot have militarism, for in a democracy there is no single ruler and no small ruling group.

There is much reason to think that there are a "few persons" representing industry and the army in such countries as Japan and Germany, who can and do determine what those nations are to do.

In France and Switzerland, on the other hand, the army has no more control over the policy of the government than our army has over our government, not as much as our army of the past, the G. A. R., has over us. Many people have

[1] Editorial in World's Work, 32: 138-9. June, 1916.

thought of militarism and universal service as synonymous, because they often exist side by side. Both are present in the autocracies of Germany and Japan. There is universal service but not militarism in the republics of France and Switzerland.

If we are a real republic we need not fear militarism and should welcome universal training as the most democratic form of national defense and as being most consistent with the American tradition written in our bill of rights where every one is guaranteed the right to carry arms, certainly with the implication that he would know how to use them.

We could with perfect consistency to our Democratic ideals and much profit get into a condition where our President, instead of having to admit our inability to patrol the Mexican border, could truthfully make a statement comparable in democracy and self-respect to the following, taken from a speech of the Prime Minister of Australia:

> True, we were unprepared in a military sense. But . . . Australia has been able to do what she has done because we adopted as the corner-stone of our democratic edifices the system of compulsory military training. We believe that there is but one way by which a nation, being free, can remain so, and that is that every man shall not only be willing to defend his country, but be able to do so. And we think that if it is right, as it surely is, that a democracy should educate its citizens so that the franchise shall be wisely exercised—for government by the many if the many are not educated is a doubtful good—so we think that the state should train the citizen so that he may be able to defend his country, his home, and his liberties.
>
> The defense of one's country is the primary duty of citizenship. It is the first duty of free men.

PROBLEMS OF THE COMMON DEFENSE[1]

For more than a year the people of the United States have been engaged, with evidently increasing interest and attention, in a broad and many-sided discussion of the question of national defense.

Unquestionably the early American view was that of universal obligation to military service; and these principles were embodied in the national constitution and were recognized by the individual states. But in point of fact, in our peace-loving country, the idea of general citizen service grew dim, and that

[1] From article by Albert Shaw. Academy of Political Science. Proceedings. 6: 5-11. July, 1916.

of the small army, highly professionalized, came to be accepted. The new discussion has been due to the discovery that we could no longer rely upon the obsolete form of professional army to defend the country even in case of a small war, because the rest of the world is made up of nations that have substituted universal training and the non-military idea of citizen soldiery for the medieval idea of soldiering as a trade. We alone, of all the nations of the world, are now depending mainly upon a hireling army to protect our vast nation of a hundred millions, and are presenting a spectacle of such helplessness and lack of fitness for self-defense that is without parallel in the history of major nations.

The mercenary army fails because it is too small, too expensive, and too unrepresentative. To make it large, the pay would have to be increased to meet competitive industrial demand. What we need is not a large army in ordinary times, but an almost unlimitedly large reserve to meet the call of extraordinary times. This large reserve can only be secured by making it identical with the young manhood of the nation. There can not be a separate and distinct caste of soldiers. And this must apply in great part to the officers as well as to the privates. So widespread is the opinion that our army in time of need must be made up of the trained young manhood of the country, impelled by patriotism and civic duty, that this point may be regarded as no longer under discussion excepting by persons quite ill-informed, or by vague "pacifists," so called, whose views bear no relation to the real cause of peace in the world but are based chiefly upon misapprehension of existing facts.

We may then regard the discussion in this country as having produced the conviction that our young men should not remain helpless and untrained. There is no such body of capable young men in all the world as in the United States. If war should occur, these young men would have to enlist in the army, either as volunteers or as conscripts. If they had lacked all previous training, they would have to be disciplined for a number of months. If, however, the exigencies of war were great, they would have to fight unprepared, with consequent prospects of humiliating defeat and terrible slaughter.

Most men of good judgment, therefore, have come to the conclusion there should be some means of training provided for a great many young men, and that sufficient inducement should be offered to make certain the large use of training

facilities. This brings us to the question of volunteer effort as against some form of universal and obligatory training.

After five months of consideration, the houses of Congress have agreed upon a military bill of great importance. It provides for the enlargement of the regular army, contemplates a gradually increasing reserve force, attaches new importance to the state troops known as the National Guard, definitely authorizes summer training-camps for citizens, and gives added recognition to the importance of the military training already made obligatory in the so-called land-grant colleges of the states. In other ways, more or less definite, it contemplates a great extension, through volunteer effort, of the military preparation of the American people for national defense.

There is wide advocacy of a system somewhat like that of Switzerland or Australia, where training and military service are universal and obligatory. But we have by no means even faintly begun to test in the United States the possibilities of training, and of the creation of the citizen reserve, by voluntary rather than obligatory processes.

It is plain, then, that the country is only now fairly entering upon its great discussion of this problem of vital significance. The more we know of the experience of other countries, and the more fully we consider the views of authorities upon the various aspects of the question of training our young men for the support of our institutions and the service of the country, the more certainly we shall arrive at wise results.

THE ARMY FOR A DEMOCRACY[1]

The first duty of a government is to protect the persons and property of its citizens. If it is not equipped for rendering this service, it does not deserve to be called a government. To protect persons and property from enemies within the state it has sheriffs, constables, and police, occasionally reinforced either by a *posse comitatus* or by a military organization. To protect persons and property from assailants without the state it has an army and a navy.

What is liable to happen if the government is not strong enough to protect its citizens against domestic violence is illus-

[1] From editorial in the Outlook. 108: 986-8, December 30, 1914.

trated by the French Revolution. What is liable to happen if it is not strong enough to protect its citizens against foreign violence is illustrated by the history of Judea in the first century, by the history of the Aztecs in Mexico in the sixteenth century, and by the history of Belgium in the twentieth century.

An individual may relinquish his rights; he may prefer to submit to injustice rather than to resist. But no one may relinquish his duties. If a citizen catches a pickpocket in the act, he may prefer to release the offender rather than to prosecute him; but if a policeman catches a pickpocket, he is recreant to his duty if he releases the criminal whom he has caught. The rights of nations differ from the rights of individuals in this important respect, that the rights of nations are generally duties. Certainly the right of a nation to protect the persons and property of its citizens is more than a right—it is a duty.

The problem for democracy is, How to secure an organized body of men, under constituted authority and equipped for battle, which will furnish the protection which an unorganized body cannot furnish, and will not bring with it the menace which a large standing army will bring.

For such self-protection, it is not enough that the individuals in the community should be familiar with the use of firearms. Eleven boys who can kick a football do not make a football team; to make a football team they must be practised in team work. Ten thousand men who can shoot do not make an army. They must know how to combine and co-operate under constituted authority, and must be trained in habits of prompt obedience that they may work together under one head. As a hundred men equipped with musical instruments constitute an orchestra only when they have learned how to play together under the direction of a conductor, so ten thousand men constitute an army only when they have learned how to work together under one commander.

These principles seem to us to be axiomatic; they need only to be stated to be accepted—they are self-evident: It is the first duty of government to protect persons and property; this duty in a self-governing community can be safely and efficiently performed only by a system of self-protection; for such self-protection organization, co-operation, and a habit of prompt obedience to constituted authority are essential.

We do not here attempt to state, even in outline, any complete method of realizing this ideal; but we put together some

suggestions gathered from various sources which may contribute toward its realization:

1. The self-governing and self-protecting community must know the facts. It must know whether it is or is not prepared to fulfill its duty of mutual protection. Ignorance is not bliss, and it is not folly to be wise.

2. That community, with us, must have a navy to co-operate in protecting the coast from invasion, to defend the rights of American citizens abroad, and to do its share in international police work.

3. It must have a professional or standing army sufficient to equip and protect its harbor and frontier defenses, to afford adequate protection to its citizens in pioneer communities, as in Porto Rico, Hawaii, the Philippines, and in regions bordering the Indian tribes, and sufficient also to fill its constitutional obligation to aid, when necessary, the State authorities in the preservation of order.

4. By making the enlistments in this army for short terms, and by constituting the men on the expiration of their enlisted term a reserve into which any soldier might be discharged on completion of his training under obligation to meet annually for a brief camp service, a citizen soldiery might well be built up ready to act in case of emergency.

5. The State militia which is equipped largely at Federal expense and trained under Federal officers, and theoretically at least, is subject to a common standard and a common discipline, should be maintained and developed according to this general plan so that it can be practically depended upon in case of exigency.

6. Military athletics is now required of all students in agricultural colleges dependent in whole or in part upon Federal funds. Similarly, military athletics might well be required of all boys above a specified age who are educated at public expense, whether of the state or of the nation, and opportunity for military athletics might well be given to all others. Such training should be co-ordinated and standardized.

7. The summer military camps would furnish further training for volunteers who desire it. The long summer vacations of our school and college boys, now not always profitably employed, could thus be used for the making of volunteer reserve officers to the advantage both of the individual and the nation.

8. Three things are essential in military organization—sani-

tation, co-operation, prompt obedience. These three things are equally essential in our modern industries. The training which we here hint at could be so adjusted that it would promote efficiency in peace no less than preparation for defensive war.

9. To those who dread such military athletics because they fear it would create a military spirit and make a warlike nation Switzerland furnishes an adequate answer. Switzerland's adequate equipment for defense has had no tendency to make its people warlike.

UNIVERSAL MILITARY SERVICE AND DEMOCRACY[1]

One who follows recent discussions of military "preparedness" gets the impression that such terms as "monarchic" and "democratic" are being used to express emotion rather than thought. They are used as terms of praise or blame, with little appreciation of their real meaning or of the historical connection between modes of national defense and forms of political organization.

In the history of Europe, there has been, broadly speaking, a fairly constant connection between the rendering of military service and the exercise of political power.

In the great modern European states universal military service has been generally adopted because of its demonstrated economy and efficiency. In all these states, not excepting Russia, the people have today some voice in determining the laws and policies of the country; and it looks as if, broadly speaking, the imposition of the duty of military service upon every able-bodied male citizen had forced the monarchic and aristocratic elements to concede to the people some measure of political rights. They really had to admit that the men who are to fight for a country ought to have something to say about its government.

It would, of course, be absurd to say that universal military service necessarily makes a country democratic. If the people of a country are democratically minded, universal military service seems to make for constitutional government in monarchies and for the maintenance of popular government in republics.

[1] From article by Munroe Smith, Professor of Comparative Jurisprudence at Columbia University. Academy of Political Science. Proceedings. 6: 152-6. July, 1916. Also in the New York Times Magazine, July 23, 1916.

Historically, the system of hiring men to fight seems closely associated with monarchic absolutism. It destroyed popular government in the ancient Roman world, and in those mediaeval cities that adopted it. There is no reason to assume that such an army will necessarily destroy republican or democratic government if it be limited in strength, if its supreme control be placed in the hands of civilians, and if the country be democratically minded.

Historically, the system by which only those fight who have a mind to fight—the volunteer system—seems on the whole to make for aristocracy. One of the chief roots of the feudal system was the retinue; and this was composed originally of volunteers.

Modern volunteer service is not wholly devoid of aristocratic features. In the German army the so-called "one-year volunteers" may be said to represent the natural aristocracy of the country. They are men of at least moderate means and of more than average education. From these volunteers is drawn the greater part of Germany's reserve officers. It is a corresponding class that is being drawn in our country into summer training camps.

If we pass from history to theory it is difficult to see why universal military service is not essentially the democratic system. This can hardly be questioned by any one who admits that democracy means equality of duties as well as equality of rights. Those, indeed, who identify democracy with liberty alone, and not with liberty and equality—those to whom democracy means the minimum of governmental constraint—may consistently assert that a volunteer army is essentially democratic. This idea of democracy, however, is a false one; and a democracy organized in accordance with this idea cannot endure. Rights can be held permanently only by those who discharge corresponding duties; and the natural tendency of laissez faire, in the political as in the economic system, is toward oligarchy.

The most serious objections, however, to relying upon volunteer armies are not political. Of the technical military objections I need not speak. It is the social objection which I desire to stress. It is one of the greatest evils of war that it spares those who are physically defective and confines its ravages to those who are physically sound. It is the greatest evil of the volunteer system that it slays or maims those who are most energetic and enterprising, who have the highest courage and the warmest devotion to their country, while it spares the inert, the

timid and the selfish. If modern war makes in any case for the survival of the physically unfit, modern war waged by volunteer armies makes for the survival of the socially unfit.

Returning to political theory, the standing army of hired soldiers seems essentially undemocratic. It is really plutocratic, in that it throws the burden of national defense, at least so far as the rank and file of the fighting force is concerned, upon the needier part of the community, the Have-nots. Within limits, such an army may be as necessary as are bodies of municipal police. Even in those states which carry universal military training to the highest point of efficiency special forces must be enlisted for colonial service; and in those states which do not enforce universal military training, or do not carry it far, a standing enlisted army is needed to meet the first shock of invasion.

But to intrust the defense of a country entirely to such an army is not only economically impracticable and politically dangerous, because of the dimensions which such an army must assume, but it is undemocratic, because it violates the principle of equal duty. To supplement the regular professional army by conscription and to permit those who are drafted to buy substitutes, as we did in the war of the rebellion, is even more objectionable. Such a system is in the highest degree plutocratic.

By a process of exclusion, it seems to me, we come to the result that the defense of the country must, on democratic principles, be secured through universal military service; and if universal military service is to be enforced, we must have universal, that is to say compulsory, military training. How much training shall be required is, of course, a technical military question; and its answer depends on the peculiar situation and needs of each country.

OUR SCHOOLBOY SOLDIERS[1]

The American boy may or may not be a born soldier; but it is certainly true that he is being made into one on a large scale. Most of our private and endowed schools for boys include more or less of military life and discipline in their daily routine; and the system is spreading steadily.

[1] By Day Allen Willey. Munsey. 27: 384-94. June, 1902.

Look at the advertising pages of the magazines—there are few more significant reflectors of the ideas of the day—and you will find that a majority of the institutions inviting male pupils make a special feature of military instruction. The familiar trademark of the student with his book and reading lamp has been succeeded by a picture that shows a rank of bright faced cadets parading in their trim uniforms.

The names of leading clergymen and other "men of peace" appear as patrons or principals of academies where boys are taught to handle sabre and gun. Some of them may regret the modern tendency, but their pupils hail it with joy. The average boy begins by making soldiers out of sticks and cannon out of spools, unless the beneficent Santa Claus brings him the "real" toys; and one of his earliest red letter days is that on which his father whittles him out a sword or buys him a tin one. Who ever saw a parade without a fringe of boys tagging after it, stepping in time to the music, heads high, chests out, almost as proud and happy as if they too were clad in blue and gold lace? They may be garbed in the street urchin's rags, or they may be ruining the natty gaiters and big white collar which some careful mother or nurse put on for them that morning. The martial instinct is innate in high and low. If his father consults the youth's preferences, he will choose the school that gives a military course, no matter how exacting its scholastic standard may be.

This is the reason why every year some ten or fifteen thousand young Americans enter business and the professions who are qualified to handle rifle or carbine, and in many cases to sight a field piece or to lead a company.

The Increase of Military Schools

It is probable that the number of our cadets—applying the term to pupils of military schools in general—has doubled in the last ten years; but the idea is by no means a new one. West Point celebrates its centenary this year, and owes its first inception to a resolution adopted by the Continental Congress in October, 1776. Norwich University, at Northfield, Vermont—the school at which Admiral Dewey learned the alphabet of warfare —was teaching its pupils tactics and shooting along with their Cæsar and algebra as far back as 1820. Its principal, Captain Alden Partridge, an officer of the regular army, was a pioneer in military training. His ideas were about a century ahead of his

time. He suggested a chain of military schools stretching across the country—a plan which General Sherman recommended to Congress a few years before his death. Failing to enlist official support, Captain Partridge attempted to carry out his idea unaided, and succeeded in establishing academies at Portsmouth, Virginia, at Brandywine Springs, Delaware, and at Bristol, Pennsylvania.

There are now about sixty public and chartered military schools in the United States, and more than a hundred private institutions. Most of the older ones are in the South, the best known being the Citadel, at Charleston; the Virginia Military Institute, at Lexington; the Louisiana Institute, and the Frankfort Military Academy. During the Civil War, the Northern soldiers had good reason to remember these schools. Secretary Stanton once declared that they "kept the war going." A great many of the Southern officers were graduates of Charleston or Lexington, the latter alone contributing to the Confederate armies three major-generals, thirty brigadiers, sixty colonels, fifty lieutenant-colonels, thirty majors, and one hundred and twenty-five captains. Boys not yet twenty received commissions as captains and majors, and showed that they were fit to command. Once, when Lexington was threatened by a Union force, the cadets who were too young to join the army turned out to a roll call for real battle, and marched, with their instructors as officers, to join in the defense of the town; and it is recorded that they fought bravely and well.

On the Northern side, the few military schools then in existence furnished scores of officers to the volunteer regiments, but the demand far exceeded the supply—a condition which recurred at the time of the war with Spain.

It was after our triumph in the conflict with Mexico that General Scott was asked the secret of the victories which the American soldiers had won against heavy numerical odds. "But for our graduated cadets," the veteran commander replied, "the war between the United States and Mexico would have lasted four or five years, and in the first half of it more defeats than victories would have fallen to our share; whereas in less than two campaigns we conquered a great country, and secured a peace without the loss of a single battle."

From Maine to the Pacific, West Point is the standard that American military cadets keep in view. The ambition of the boy soldier is to march, to stand, to dress like a West Pointer; of the

cadet commander, to equal West Point in drills and parades. No better standard could possibly be set, for West Point is unexcelled among the army schools of the world.

Any regular officer will admit that plenty of good material for making soldiers is to be found outside of the Point. Ask him if his alma mater could be equaled by any state or private institution, and he will promptly and vigorously dissent. It would be disloyalty, almost treason, to think of such a thing as a possibility. And yet, if none of the other schools is on a level with Uncle Sam's gray battalion, some of them are not far behind it.

In recent years the spirit of rivalry between the leading schools has become keen. No work is too difficult, no practice too long, if it will enable a corps to excel. Until comparatively lately, boy soldiers were content to drill with wooden guns and to execute such simple movements as marching in single file or forming fours. Now such elementary performances are practically obsolete. Owing to the aid extended to the movement by the government, any institution which can muster a hundred and fifty cadets can secure artillery, ammunition, rifles, and signal apparatus. About a hundred officers of the regular army have been detailed as military instructors at schools all over the country. Some have organized a troop of cavalry or a division of engineers, and have drilled their pupils in making pontoon and timber bridges, in building roads, and in planning earthworks and fortifications.

Life at a Military School

Some of the school corps have actually become miniature armies, carrying out the tactics of every branch of the service. Their headquarters are military posts, where the Stars and Stripes is raised at the boom of the sunrise gun. As the hours pass by, the various details for duty are made up, the sentries patrol their beats, the officers of the day receive reports, and the routine of army life is carried out, with the addition of study and recitation periods. As sunset approaches, the band plays the national anthem, and the flag is hauled down, while the battalion salutes it and the sunset gun is fired.

Some of the corps have taken part in parades, appearing in line with a band, a company of cavalry, and a battery of field guns, besides the infantry section and commanding officer's staff, mustering in all, perhaps, three hundred cadets. As to marching

and general military bearing, not a few of the cadet battalions are superior to the average commands of militia, and even of regular troops. At the Chicago World's Fair, the corps of the Michigan Military Academy was encamped near the quarters of the West Pointers. Such was the standard of the Westerners' drill that to most visitors they were quite indistinguishable—the two uniforms being the same—from the army cadets.

From the day when he dons his uniform until the final inspection at graduation time, the boy who goes to a military school leads a life of soldierly discipline. He learns the vocabulary of the army. He has his quarters in a "barracks;" he eats in a "mess hall." The drum beat displaces the morning bell, and "reveille" is the rising signal. "Tattoo" warns him to prepare to retire for the night, and at "taps" the day's routine is officially closed.

The first lesson the cadet receives is how to carry himself, and he spends many hours in the "awkward squad" before he stands "toes out," "chest out," "head up," and "eyes front," to the satisfaction of the drill corporal. His fatigue and dress suits are made to fit without a wrinkle, and he must wear them so. His cap must be cocked at the right angle. His room is regularly inspected, and any lack of tidiness means a demerit in his report.

Taught how to stand, how to walk, and how to wear his clothing, he goes into another awkward squad to acquire the manual of arms, to learn to keep step and to execute simple movements such as marching by fours, guiding, and wheeling. Then he is enrolled in the company, gets his number, and is ready for real work. And real work it is. Drilling includes marching by fours, platoons, and company front for one or two hours daily, with perhaps ten minutes' rest. The last formation means that every cadet in a company which may number fifty or thereabouts must stand in a line so even that the drill master can run the flat of his sword across each chest without sticking it into a man. And the same evenness must be preserved in platoon and company wheels.

At "parade rest," the cadet must instantly turn into a living statue, with his gun a certain distance from his feet, and his hands in the exact position on the barrel. He must learn to measure his stride to the fraction of an inch, to calculate the alignment of his file to an inch—to become a piece of a great

animated machine so nicely adjusted that the mistake of one man will clog its movement.

With the order "Parade dismissed!" the cadet becomes an individual again, and as each squad rushes to the gun rack to put away its pieces, one is reminded of a lot of schoolboys at recess. Some hurry to put on their sweaters and start for the tennis court; some don their baseball "togs," while others take possession of the gymnasium. Every military school in the country allows plenty of time for athletics, and many of the interscholastic records are held by cadets.

Cadets in Mimic Warfare

The artillery drills and sham infantry fights have a savor of real war that makes them of special interest to the young soldiers. The smell of gunpowder, the haze of smoke, the crackling of the rifles, punctuated with the louder reports of the cannon, make the nerves tingle and the eye glisten. As in infantry tactics, the artillery maneuvers are conducted strictly according to regular army practice at schools where an officer is stationed. Some have horses to draw the gun carriages; at others, details of cadets run the pieces into position, while the regular squad unlimbers and handles the gun.

In drilling with the battery, an open field is selected with a rough and uneven surface, to accustom the cadets to the difficulties of stationing guns in actual warfare. The captain determines the strategic positions where the pieces will have most effective range, and at the command they are hurried into place as rapidly as possible. Before the wheels have stopped moving, down spring the artillerists from their seats as the sergeant commands: "Unlimber!" In a few seconds the gun is pulled away from the caisson. "Load!" comes the order, and one man slips the cartridge into the muzzle, while another shoves it home with a single push of the ramrod. The battery commander raises his field glasses, while the sergeant sights the weapon. "Fire!" and the cadet who has been holding the lanyard, with his eye on the officer, pulls it before the word is fairly spoken.

For a few seconds the smoke hides the little group. When it passes away, every man is standing rigidly in position, while the captain is studying the damaged target, perhaps a mile away. There is not much gold lace or full dress about the drill. With their fatigue caps, with blue army shirts pulled open at the throat, with arms bared and faces blackened by grime and smoke, there

is a business look about the gun squad that may lead you to wonder how a mob would like to face the weapon they are handling so energetically—although it is but a muzzle loading six pounder.

With the cavalry and artillery in action, the war picture is complete. Cavalry tactics at some of the larger academies include not only the movements prescribed at the government riding schools, but some truly remarkable feats of horsemanship. Under the supervision of veteran troopers, the cadets first learn the care of the horse, then the proper mount and seat. They begin with merely a blanket and a bridle, without any stirrups or saddle to assist in "holding on." The rider first acquires the military seat; then he is allowed to use saddle and stirrups.

Drilling in various formations, at a walk, trot, and gallop, the cadet cavalrymen become thoroughly at home in the saddle. It is but a step to "rough riding," as they term it. This means such feats as standing on the backs of their mounts while walking and trotting singly, or in squads and platoons; mounting at a trot; driving two, three, and four horses standing on the back of one; jumping hurdles in the saddle, and standing bareback. The horses are not circus animals, trained to maintain an even gait, but have enough mettle about them to make the evolutions highly exciting. In mounting, the cadets dispense with the stirrup. It is a case of catch as catch can, and of vaulting to the steed's back with no sanded floor or flexible soled shoes to help in getting a foothold. Some of these boy equestrians have become regular acrobats. For instance, two of them will guide three horses over a field, standing on the animals' backs, while a third cadet poses on the riders' shoulders. Turning a somersault and landing with legs astride the horse is a trick which requires considerable nerve, though it is not as dangerous as another cadet feat—that of mounting from the ground while the animal is jumping a hurdle.

Probably the most skilful cadet rough riders are the members of the Black Horse Troop, the cavalry squad of the Culver Military Academy, in Indiana. They are thoroughly drilled, not only in the regulation cavalry tactics, but in Indian fighting—a generic term which includes such feats as aiming and firing under their horses' necks while going at a gallop, and throwing the mounts and using them as breastworks in skirmishing.

Some of the schools, in their desire to be up to date, are making use of the bicycle and the motor carriage. The North-

western Military Academy, of Chicago, has organized a corps of bicycle infantry, which makes forced marches across country, the men slinging the wheels on their backs where they cannot be ridden. The members of this corps can scale a ten-foot wall and take their bicycles with them. The automobile has been introduced in artillery evolutions at this same institution. A six horse-power gasoline motor is used, on which is mounted a Colt rapid fire gun. The motor also carries the gun squad, consisting of a sergeant and three privates, the sergeant directing the motor.

When the stripes and epaulets have been doffed for the last time, and the cadet leaves the drill ground and barracks to become a part of the workaday world, he is pretty sure to take with him plenty of good brawn and blood and a strong constitution. He has a clear head and firm nerves. The period of discipline has taught him self control and respect for authority—qualities that are not too common among Americans—while the life of the soldier has imbued him with a sense of his own ability. In short, it has made a man of him, if he has the average intelligence of an American boy.

He has also drawn into his life a love of his country and a reverence for its flag that he could scarcely get anywhere else outside of the service. He has acquired a true and stalwart Americanism. In such organizations as the National Guard this educated patriotism has been a most important factor, for many of our best militia regiments are officered by graduates of the military schools.

MILITARY DRILL IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS[1]

The question of introducing compulsory military drill into the public schools got itself so involved with the general problems of preparedness and pacifism in the discussion of the National Education Association just held in New York that the issue remained confused until the finishing touches were administered by General Leonard Wood. The teachers, while predominantly pacifically inclined, had no prejudice against an adequate preparation against war, yet seemed to resent any appropriation of school hours for military drill. Last year the association adopted a

[1] Editorial from Literary Digest. 53: 186. July 22, 1916.

straightforward pacifistic resolution and declared against military training. The fight this year was to prevent any recession from such a program, but in this the pacifists failed. "The resolution reported by the Committee of Resolutions," says the report in the New York Times, "neither indorsed nor condemned military training; it recognized the right of states and communities to prescribe it, and declared that where so prescribed it must be made subsidiary to the real purpose of the schools." Pacifism had its advocates throughout the week of the convention, beginning with William J. Bryan, who followed Mayor Mitchel's speech for preparedness on the opening day. Mr. Bryan is quoted as saying that he hoped "the teachers of our public schools will not yield to the clamor for militarism," and "substitute military training for the games of the playground." That sentence, reports the Times, was "electrifying, and after the applause had died down it was spontaneously and furiously renewed." Mr. Bryan went on:

> The teachers have a right to ask that this question shall be considered deliberately and calmly. It is not fair to demand that they shall think of it in hot blood or in fright. The school is not a transient institution; it will still abide with us when the battle-flags are furled. The school will continue with us through the coming centuries, and it is not fair that this permanent system shall be disturbed by a temporary excitement.
>
> We heard no such suggestion two years ago. No one in this country two years ago was suggesting that we should introduce military training in our common schools.

The tide was apparently turned by General Wood, who came from Washington to address the association on the eve of the vote on the resolution. The Times reports it as "the outburst of the army's pent-up feeling after reading the reports of a week's speeches in which, from William J. Bryan down, the pacifists had had it all their own way." The audience are reported to have "liked it," in spite of the fact that General Wood said:

> You're the light talkers about war, not we. You know very little, and we hope that you will never know more. You can search the histories you teach, and you will find no instances where the officers of the army and navy got you into war. Our business is to get you out of the wars that you get us into.

The contrast between General Wood's talk and the kind that had been heard in the Garden all the week was tremendous, says the Times. The pacifist speakers are reported to have "run at large, preaching internationalism, world-brotherhood, universities for training future rulers of Europe, education by international

agreement, the service of humanity, and every imaginable large reform, while they assailed the proposal to make the United States ready for defense and poured out sarcasm and criticism on those who advocated it." General Wood, it is said, "always spoke of preparedness and peace as if it were the same thing, but without arguing the point; only as if it were a settled and incontrovertible thing like arithmetic":

His tone in the first part of his speech was that of the defender of the silent army, wounded by the attacks made upon it by ignorance and superficiality; in the second part it was that of the man who finds himself, to his chagrin and surprise, compelled to argue such a doctrine as that people should defend their country. "If you have in your institutions anything worth defending, remember that words do not defend these things." But whichever tone he took, his audience followed him with sympathetic enthusiasm and showed its keen delight over every point he made.

Many an audience would have been antagonized by his defiant and uncompromising tone, but this one was roused by it. It was the same when he turned his attention to the stock arguments of the pacifists. "Numbers are not strength. No wolf was ever frightened by the size of a flock of sheep. It may have been puzzled for a moment to decide which was the fattest one, nothing more." But the biggest applause was when, telling the teachers of the kind of instruction they should give the children, he said: "We want to have impressed on their minds a realization of the fact that they owe everything to the country." . . .

"History is too superficially taught here. How many of our children leave school with a knowledge of the fact that we have never fought a war without aid when we engaged a first-class power? . . . We have altogether too much of the Fourth-of-July style of oratory, all too much of the type of man who speaks of a million springing to arms between sunrise and sunset. We have been sitting up nights for three weeks to see 30,000 men spring, and it is a very heavy spring."

The resolution which represents the concession the teachers showed themselves willing to make reads in this way:

Resolved, That the National Education Association gives expression again to the consciousness that the school is an institution developed by society to conserve the well-being of humanity, and that on this solid foundation all subordinate aims and uses of the schools should be made to rest. Assembled as it is in a time of world-wide disturbance, doubt, and uncertainty, and of consequent national concern, the association affirms its unswerving adherence to the unchanging principles of justice between persons and between nations. It affirms its belief that the instruction in the school should tend to furnish the mind with the knowledge of the arts and sciences on which the prosperity of the nations rests and to incline the will of men and nations toward acts of peace. It declares its devotion to America and American ideals and recognizes the priority of the claims of our beloved country on our property, our minds, our hearts, and our lives. It records its conviction that the true policy to be followed, both by the school and by the nation which it serves, is to keep the American public

school free from sectarian interference, partizan politics, and disputed public policies, that it may remain unimpaired in its power to serve the whole people. While it recognizes that the community or the state may introduce such elements of military training into the schools as may seem wise and prudent, yet it believes that such training should be strictly educational in its aim and organization, and that military ends should not be permitted to pervert the educational purposes and practises of the schools.

The Springfield Republican defends the teachers from the possible charge of "butting in" on the militarist discussion, saying, rather, that it was forced upon them. It adds:

Only last year the same question was raised in Germany, where, for still greater preparedness to offset the three-years' training lately introduced in France, a preliminary course for schoolboys was proposed. To this there was strong opposition by schoolmasters on the ground that it would be adverse to the best educational results. On the general question of preparedness and of war there is of course a strong division of opinion among school-teachers as in the public at large.

MILITARY TRAINING OF COLLEGE STUDENTS[1]

I should be glad to have the work done in summer camps, supplemented as it might be by instruction given during the winter, counted as a contribution toward the fulfillment of the requirements for a bachelor's degree.

The boys who attend them are given mental and physical training which has great educational value in their individual development, and which in certain important respects supplements the deficiencies of our regular course of study. They acquire a sense of public obligation which has peculiar significance in connection with Yale standards and ideals. They become better fitted for the discussion of international affairs by the sense of responsibility which they thus obtain.

The objections which are urged against counting the work in these camps as part of the fulfillment of the requirements for a degree come from three quite distinct quarters—the extreme peace men, the educational conservatives, and the over-developed professorial consciences.

The first, and probably the strongest, objection is that of the extreme peace men. Such men believe that training in military affairs leads to militarism; that a student who has

[1] By Arthur T. Hadley. From Yale University. Report of the President, 1914-15, p. 8-19.

learned how to fight will want to fight; that a boy who has become attracted by the glamour of military life will be anxious to plunge the country into war. I cannot help thinking that the men who hold these views hold them on theoretical grounds; that they have not talked with boys that have been at the camp, and do not understand what is the moral effect of its lessons. Play soldiering may be attractive; real soldiering is not. And the boys who have attended summer camps of the United States Army have seen something of what real soldiering is and does. They know that it means grave discomfort during the time of preparation and much physical suffering during the actual fight. They learn that the glamour is little as compared with the risk. If the service of their country attracts them—and it does attract many—it is because they learn to regard it as a duty, not as a pleasure. Actual knowledge of military affairs, instead of increasing the danger that we shall go to war, tends to diminish it.

There is one error, and a very grave one, which the extreme militarists and extreme pacificists hold in common. They believe our country to be stronger than it is. The militarist thinks that our neighbors have reason to be afraid of us. The pacificist thinks that we have no reason to be afraid of our neighbors. Both errors spring from the same source: an underestimate of the forces arrayed against us and an overestimate of our own powers of resistance. The militarist who wishes to pursue a "spirited" foreign policy and the pacificist who wishes to "overawe the nations of Europe by a display of moral force," are suffering from nearly the same mistake and are likely to lead us to nearly the same destination.

Now a boy who has had the training of the military camp is protected against both of these errors. He knows what war means, and how little we are prepared for it. He knows that if we talk without being prepared, we are likely to promote war. He knows that if we keep our utterance within the bounds set by our measure of preparation we are likely to have peace. It is not readiness for war that creates a probability of war, so much as overestimate of our own readiness and underestimate of our neighbors'.

Taking all these considerations together, I regard the student military camp as one of the most valuable means of safeguarding the peace of the country which we have at our

command; and I believe that official recognition of these camps by our colleges, instead of leading to militarism, will lay the basis for a foreign policy, to which, in Webster's words, we may owe "safety at home, dignity and consideration abroad."

But there are a great many of our graduates who go farther than this, and who believe that military drill should be introduced here at Yale and made a part of the college curriculum They would have it required for a degree from all students who were not physically disqualified.

If student drill remains largely a matter of routine, and if the amount learned is not great in proportion to the time spent, the introduction of compulsory drill will not help discipline; it will hurt it. A boy resents being kept at work when he does not feel that he is making progress, or when the progress is not in the directions which he values. Among colleges where military drill is compulsory Cornell in the East and Minnesota in the West are honorably conspicuous. But there is a great deal of testimony both from Minnesota and from Cornell that the required military drill makes more trouble in the relations between the faculty and the students than everything else in the whole institution put together, and that instead of helping discipline it in many cases tends to undermine it. With those of the students who are really interested in the subject the drill does good, and the waste of time is condoned; but with those who are not interested the requirement does little good and considerable harm. The question whether military drill will help or hurt *school* discipline is very different from the question whether it will help or hurt college discipline. For school life is much more a matter of routine than college life, and school discipline much more a matter of obedience to authority than college discipline.

Should Yale students wish to supplement the work of the summer camps, not simply by courses in military science but by actual exercise in the practice of arms, I personally should be ready to encourage it in every way. But I believe that this should be an extra-curriculum activity; and I am confident that it ought to be taken up by those who are specially interested in it, rather than to be required of all men or to be made a subject of college tests. If the work is taken up in this spirit it is not likely to degenerate into mere routine, or to result in show rather than substance.

COMPULSORY UNIVERSAL TRAINING[1]

The present widespread interest in war and national defense has brought out into strong light a subject which, while connected on broad lines with those questions, has been much discussed from other points of view. We mean the question of military training considered from the point of view of its effect on the individual and through the individual on the community. There are many who feel that military training is not only a good thing in itself but that it is the only thing which will or can achieve certain results.

Military training inculcates a sense of responsibility, a feeling in every man who receives it that he owes some duty to his country. It teaches habits of promptness, obedience and mental alertness. A man who has submitted to the discipline of military training is, generally speaking, more effective than one who has not. He is less selfish; better able to act with others; becomes endowed with a community spirit; and, in a word, knows and appreciates team play and is able to take part in it. He has the capacity to co-operate with other men under expert guidance. The Commission therefore has no hesitation in expressing the opinion that it would be a benefit to the individuals of the community, and therefore to the community, if every physically fit man underwent some period of military training.

The Commission makes a marked distinction between compulsory training and compulsory service. The basis of voluntary service, namely that there should be moral conviction as well as devotion to the state behind a war, does not apply to military training as distinguished from military service. The Commission believes, so far as benefit to the individual is concerned, that compulsory training and voluntary service would be the ideal state of affairs.

The Commission, however, does not recommend compulsory universal military training, for the following reasons:—

First, because no such plan is necessary from the point of view of national defense.

Second, because there are not now (and will not be for some

[1] From Massachusetts. Report of the Special Commission on Military Education and Reserve, December, 1915.

years) enough officers available to suggest any possibility of success for the plan if now adopted.

Third, because of the expense involved.

Fourth, because any such radical proposition should be tested by a longer lapse of time than has occurred since the present agitation for preparedness arose.

"Military training" in the schools, as the words are used by different persons, may mean one or more of several things.

First, military drill, in the sense of training with a musket, manual of arms and close order formation. In a word, an imitation of the sort of training which a young man receives at the armory when he goes into the militia.

Second, physical exercises and physical training which will develop not only the body but the attention and mind of the boy receiving it.

Third, the teaching of true military history, personal hygiene, and camp sanitation.

Fourth, the teaching of love of country and willingness to serve it.

The overwhelming weight of opinion from school teachers, military experts, officers of both the regular army and the militia, and the general public is against military drill as defined in the first clause above. It is generally agreed that the military drill which a boy receives in school is of little or no advantage to him from the point of view of practical soldiering. As far as available evidence goes, drill in the schools has had no beneficial effect in promoting enlistments in the militia except in a few isolated localities. For various reasons, it has seemed to create a dislike for soldiering. Military drill in the schools is objected to by many on the ground that boys of school age have not attained sufficient mental maturity to appreciate what war and fighting mean, and are therefore unable to digest ideas which military drill presents to them in concrete form. It is worth noting that military drill as such is given in the schools of no countries of the world except Australia and Japan.

The Commission does not recommend military drill in the schools but is opposed to it.

Physical training which tends to make a boy strong, physically well set up and mentally alert is the proper preparation for the real intensive training necessary to make a soldier, as

it is also the proper preparation for civil life. The overwhelming weight of public opinion favors the greater development of physical training in the schools and the standardization and inspection of such training by some central authority.

The Commission recommends the adoption of a systematic plan of physical training in the schools and has drafted legislation providing for that purpose. It believes that the basis of such training should be the system of calisthenics used for many years at West Point under the supervision of Captain Herman J. Koehler, not because that system is particularly military, but because, according to the consensus of expert opinion, it is the best system which can now be adopted.

The Commission also recommends the teaching of personal hygiene, camp sanitation, and the truth about our military history, in the schools.

The Commission also recommends the establishment of training camps for school boys during one month of the summers preceding or following their last year in high or Latin school. Attendance at such camps should be voluntary and they should be conducted under the joint supervision of the State Board of Education and the Adjutant-General.

The teaching of patriotism or love of country in the schools is something which can hardly be standardized or provided for by legislation. Nevertheless, the Commission feels warranted in expressing the hope that teachers throughout the Commonwealth will feel that it is their duty to inculcate these ideals in the minds of the boys under their charge as a real part of the school life.

The most frequent criticism as to American boys is that they seem to lack a sense of responsibility or of loyalty and duty to something beyond themselves. A spirit of devotion to his country is the finest spirit which a boy can acquire. That spirit is not at all incompatible with the teaching that every endeavor must be made to maintain peace. The militaristic spirit which means blind faith in the doctrine of force is perhaps the most vicious idea which could be instilled in a boy's mind. The military spirit which means a willingness to serve and fight for his country in time of need, which recognizes as abhorrent the point of view which relies on others to perform the service and do the fighting, is a fine and unselfish sentiment which can not be too early instilled into the youthful mind.

There is no need to use the word military in this connection.

It is offensive to many, and unquestionably means very different things to different people. What the boy should be taught is that nothing can ever make other than glorious and holy the death of one who dies for his country, and that no boy can shift to the shoulders of others a duty to the nation any more than he can a duty to his family or friends.

MILITARY TRAINING VS. PHYSICAL EDUCATION IN SCHOOL AND COLLEGE[1]

The federal government and various states are considering carefully the problem of military preparedness in the light of the present world war. It is time the federal and state government gave thought to this problem in a broad constructive way. What is the problem? What are the needs?

Some military authorities feel that recent wars, the present one in particular, have rendered obsolete the present military formations and the drill in the manual of arms. The chief qualities demanded in modern warfare are the ability to make forced marches following railway travel, to run, to dig trenches, to get about in the dark, to shoot straight, to handle machinery, to sleep under adverse mental and physical surroundings, to subsist on concentrated and canned foods. None of these qualities depends upon skill in the manual of arms or upon the old military formations which were planned for operation on the plains of Europe before the development of modern artillery, the machine gun or the aeroplane. The modern developments with the federal and state troops have tended away from the restricted movements of military marching and the use of the manual of arms toward extended maneuvers of the army in camp life. This more vigorous activity has been supplemented by an increasing amount of time devoted to physical education. This has been true in the regular army, and particularly true at West Point and Annapolis where the officers are trained. These officers' schools have a thorough course in physical education in addition to their military training. The military training given in the schools and colleges has been of the restricted kind, largely elementary tactics and manual of arms. The gun too often given the college man has ben an old model in which he could take little pride of

[1] By James H. McCurdy. American Physical Education Review. 20: 535-37. November, 1915.

possession. With high school boys it has been an inferior weapon or a wooden gun, much to the disgust of the boy.

According to the testimony of Capt. Walter L. Bouvé of the Massachusetts militia, at the hearing before the Massachusetts Military Commission on October 20, this procedure did not aid in securing recruits for the militia but was an actual hindrance to their enlistment. Speaking of high school militia, he testified that the boys became so disgusted with the monotonous drill in elementary marching and in the manual of arms that they refrained from enlisting later.

The reorganization of the army demands many of the qualities called for in the gymnasium, on the athletic field and in such activities as the boy scouts. The large number of rejections of recruits indicates the deep fundamental need for men with more vigorous bodies.

The high schools have not yet accepted the rudiments of military preparedness which are *physical fitness*. The essentials of military preparedness are: first, physical fitness for a soldier; second, vocational skill in manufacturing the munitions of war. These ends may be secured first through as thorough courses in physical education as in intellectual education. Men are being rejected in considerable numbers, not because they are ignorant, but because they have inferior bodies. The high schools have preëmpted the field of physical education for adolescents without occupying it for either boys or girls. The cities have given them the equipment in many cases, while the board of education has administratively made it impossible to use it in ways vigorously related to physical efficiency. The time allowed for exercise is too short. Usually bathing is prevented by the time schedule. The inability to bathe means the practical exclusion of most of the fundamental movements related to health. The play field and swimming pool should be added to the equipment and used regularly by all the pupils during school hours, and opportunity given for use after school. The school day might well be lengthened to give time for health activities. If this is impossible, time should be taken from other studies. Intellectual and bodily education must go hand in hand.

Military preparedness and the virility of the people both require that larger emphasis be given to health education and health activities in the public school and in college. If the present interest in military preparedness could stimulate the public conscience to such an extent that every high school would

secure adequate play fields, gymnasiums, baths and swimming pools, with opportunity to use them, we might look forward with more confidence and find later fewer rejections of recruits. If, in addition to this, every state university and every public high school had as a regular part of its graduation requirements that each male student must spend at least one month of his senior year in an army camp, established especially for his military training, we might look forward to increased virility of our men and better preparedness for war.

SWISS MILITARY TRAINING[1]

The Swiss army is a citizen army. That means every Swiss citizen is liable to do military service if he is physically and mentally fit.

The Swiss military forces consist of three different divisions. These are the so-called Auszug or "elite," the Landwehr and the Landsturm. To the Auszug belong the young men from twenty to thirty-two years of age; to the Landwehr, the soldiers from thirty-three to forty years of age and to the Landsturm the men from forty-one to forty-eight years of age.

Swiss citizens who are unable to do their military service because of residence in a foreign country, have to pay a regular military tax.

At the age of eight years the Swiss schoolboy begins his course of physical training which is gradually developed until he is sixteen years old. Then come the cadet corps, in which the boys undergo all the preliminary exercises and where they receive thorough and systematic instruction in rifle shooting. The rifle used in the cadet corps is, of course, a smaller and lighter model than the regulation army rifle. Rifle practice for the youngsters is accorded in regular military fashion, including range and field work. Preparatory work for young men between the ages of sixteen and twenty years includes athletics, marching, care and use of the service rifle, and target practice. These preliminary training courses are taken usually by young men who hope to win commissions in the regular army.

Military instruction is given at the expense of the Swiss Confederation by a special instruction corps. Recruiting schools are established in different cities throughout the land and, while there

[1] From a pamphlet issued by The American Defense Society. 1916.

is no choice in the service, each man is at liberty to decide whether he would like to belong to the infantry or cavalry. Cavalry soldiers generally have to provide their own horses.

Men intended for the infantry have to serve for sixty-five days in a school for recruits; cavalrymen have to serve for ninety days; field and mountain artillerymen seventy-five days; engineers, seventy-five days; transport men, forty-two days, and ambulance men, sixty days.

According to the new Swiss military law, passed in 1907, the cavalry and all the forces of the Auszug have to take a yearly repetition course lasting eleven days. Previous to 1907, the cavalry only had to attend yearly exercises and the other services had their repetition courses every other year. The Landwehr forces now have their exercises every four years.

Special courses and training naturally are required in the cases of soldiers who are desirous of advancing to higher grades. Officers of the general staff receive their instruction in Berne and regimental officers have their courses in the military college in Thun, while a training school in Basle undertakes the tuition of the sanitary troops.

Regular rifle practice each year is required of every soldier and if a man does not attain the required mark he is ordered to do special practice work under the supervision of instructors.

The Swiss have solved the problem of clothing, arming and keeping track of their invisible army which, nowhere to be seen one day, is everpresent, watchful and grimly ready the next.

The Swiss Confederation enrolls the engineers, guides, sanitary and administrative troops and the army trains. The cantons recruit the infantry, the field artillery and cavalry. The cantons furnish the uniforms and equipments, for which they are reimbursed by the federal government. The latter supplies the arms. Every man is allowed to keep his rifle and uniform at home and when the mobilization order is given, the entire army can be ready for action within the shortest notice.

The yearly inspection of armament and equipment at which every soldier, without exception, has to appear, is an effective preventative against any possible neglect in that line. However, there is no fear that a Swiss soldier would in any way neglect that which has been entrusted to him by his country; his rifle is his hobby and his uniform receives the constant care one would give to a precious pet.

Only the instructors, the general staff and a few other officials

receive a regular salary. The officers are paid only for the short period they are called upon for training and the common soldier, when on duty, has all his expenses paid and besides that he receives a daily compensation of sixteen cents. Recruits receive a daily compensation of ten cents.

THE SWISS SYSTEM[1]

It is manifestly undesirable that we should ever attempt to maintain a standing army of 2,500,000 men. How can we ever be prepared to mobilize the needed number of trained and disciplined troops in a short time? In answer to this question our military experts unanimously advocate the adoption of a system of universal compulsory military service based upon and largely copied from the Swiss system and its counterpart in Australia.

These offer us for adoption not an experiment but a thoroughly tested and eminently successful method of national defense.

The system recommended by American experts for adoption by this country would begin with the training of all boys between the ages of twelve and eighteen in gymnastics, hygiene, the manual of arms, rifle practice, and platoon and company formations. In the summer of his nineteenth year every boy would be assigned to his regiment and begin active service with two months of intensive training in battalion, regimental, and brigade manœuvers, and afterward he would be enrolled for service for four years, or until he is twenty-three—his service in time of peace being limited to two weeks spent in camp each summer. At twenty-three years of age the young man would be mustered out of his regiment and placed in the reserve, from which he would be called to active service only in case of dire need. This system would eventually furnish the United States with an active army of 2,500,000 men under twenty-four years of age, and with a reserve of nearly 8,000,000 trained soldiers between the ages of twenty-four and forty-five who could be called upon in case of a long war. Thus after his eighteenth year a total of only fourteen weeks' military training would be required of each normal male citizen.

No member of the citizen forces would be required either to

[1] From "The Writing on the Wall," by Eric Fisher Wood. Century, 1916.

serve outside the territory of the United States or to aid in suppressing local civil disorders such as strikes.

It should not be forgotten that the adoption of a system of preparedness in no way increases the liability of the individual to serve as a soldier in the event of war. If we should have a big war in the near future, the draft would, of necessity, be instituted and enforced and our citizens would all have to fight, whether they liked it or not. Preparedness renders such an eventuality less likely, and makes it improbable that if we do fight our dead would have to die in vain.

To adopt the Swiss system it will not be necessary for the United States to institute new units of population, since she already possesses such units in her national congressional districts. Every district could be called upon to furnish a mixed brigade composed of two regiments of infantry, two batteries of field artillery, a squadron of cavalry, a transport train, a signal-corps detachment, a company of engineers, and a field hospital. Certain western districts would be called upon to support brigades composed of cavalry regiments and a battalion of horse artillery.

The brigades thus formed would be organized into divisions, corps, and armies under the supervision of the general staff at Washington, presided over by a *military* secretary of war. The standing army would be limited to staff officers, instructors, and engineers; to a certain amount of infantry, cavalry, and field artillery for foreign garrison duty, in Alaska, the Philippines, Hawaii, and the Panama Canal Zone, and for manning in part our coast defenses; to such a number of officers as would be sufficient to supervise the military training of our boys and to maintain an adequate reserve supply of munitions.

THE SWISS SYSTEM; ITS POSSIBLE APPLICATION TO THE UNITED STATES[1]

The question frequently asked by persons interested in the military preparedness of America is: Could the Swiss military system be applied in the United States? The answer must be that of course it could, but with modifications; and I shall endeavor to show how, on general lines, this might be accomplished.

The necessity for a trained army of sufficient size to ensure protection from a possible enemy is obvious; but when the ques-

[1] From "A citizens' army," p. 140-7, by Julian Grande. McBride. 1916.

tion of the size of such an army comes to be discussed, then great divergence of opinion is observable in the United States. The general staff of the army, which has given the subject most careful study, has made the following recommendations:

Firstly, that there should be a regular professional army of 230,000 men.

Secondly, that there should be a militia army of 1,000,000 men.

The introduction of the Swiss system will, of course, be the most difficult task, and it will require several years, no doubt, to get it into working order; but, like any other well-organized institution, when once put in operation, it will practically run itself.

The first question as to the organization of a militia army of 1,000,000 men is: How are they to be obtained? There are several possible methods. If we apply the Swiss system direct—in other words, if we require every man to serve—we shall soon find ourselves embarrassed with riches. The problem, then, is to find the most advantageous scheme that will provide an army of 1,000,000 men. Now, many other questions arise, such as how are the men to be selected? How long are they to be available for service? Shall there be three divisions corresponding to the first line, second line, and last line? How many recruits should be instructed each year? How shall the system be inaugurated? All these are questions that should receive due consideration, there being so many different methods by which 1,000,000 men could be trained. For example, with our population of 100,000,000 people, there are, say, 500,000 men who attain the age of twenty each year. If all these men were passed through the recruits' course, we should only need to keep them in service two years, in order to have an army of 1,000,000 men. On the other hand, if we kept men in service for twenty years—that is, until their fortieth year—then we should only need to train 50,000 recruits each year.

Another question will be, how can this system be introduced while we have, as at present, a state militia and military schools and colleges which receive so much support from the government? My answer would be that the state militia should be merged in this national militia. This would be of immense assistance in providing officers, armories, etc., during the first few years, after which the state militia would soon be forgotten.

As for the military schools and colleges, there does not seem

to be any reason to make a change, unless it were in the direction of increasing the military instruction. These military schools and colleges, however, should not be considered as short cuts to the rank of officer; and it should be an invariable rule that every member of the militia must pass through the recruit's course, as is the case in Switzerland.

The geographical distribution of troops would be made according to density of population, but every state would have some troops whose mobilization point would be within its borders. The present state armories would serve as excellent storehouses for the material belonging to the organizations in that locality. The recruit schools would be situated at convenient centers throughout the country, so that each particular branch of the service could be studied to the greatest advantage. The mobilization points would also be conveniently located, and chosen with a view to the troops being moved promptly in any direction. In other words, a general mobilization would cover all frontiers in greater or less strength, and the organizations in the interior would be available for reinforcements at any point desired.

As to the question of time lost from business by the militiaman, it is believed that the Swiss system interferes less with a man's civilian interests than any other militia system. The recruit's course is taken at an age when a man can, as a rule, give his time without great material loss; and the repetition courses are too short and too infrequent to interfere seriously with business.

It has been said that the spirit of patriotism is as highly developed in Switzerland as in any country in the world, and that it is for this reason that their militia army has reached so high a standard. This may be, and probably is, true; but it is believed that, were the Swiss system of universal service once introduced and adopted as an American institution, it would be the cause of the growth of a spirit of patriotism there which would be second to none in the world.

AUSTRALIA'S CITIZEN ARMY[1]

To those who believe that the United States is not adequately prepared against invasion, and who, accordingly, are discussing what sort of preparation should be made, the Australian system of natural defence offers points of particular interest and value. The United States and Australia have much in common. Both are democracies that have inherited from England a deep-rooted and abiding objection to conscription, large standing armies, or anything savoring of militarism. Both are engaged in the industrial development of vast territories, for which peace and a minimum expenditure on armaments are essential. And yet in both countries there is the same growing fear of Japanese aggression and of what might happen were Germany to emerge victorious from the present war.

The Australian people, being, like Americans, opposed, root and branch, to a large standing army, had to devise a scheme that would give them an efficient citizen force. They had also to remember that it is a bad thing to take young men out of civil employment for two or three years and lock them up in barracks while they are getting their military training, as is the method in countries where conscription is the rule. The interruption to a young man's career is often ruinous, and the segregation from civil life may be demoralizing.

Such a system is also bad from the business standpoint, because it depletes the industrial army of a large number of the most energetic men. The question for the Australian legislators was, How can we obtain efficient training without dislocating the normal activities of the nation? And the answer was, By beginning at as early an age as possible and spreading out the training over as long a period as possible.

At first the commonwealth government was occupied with the reorganization of the forces existing before federation. But already, by the Defence acts of 1903 and 1904, all male inhabitants between the ages of eighteen and sixty years were made liable for service in the defence forces in time of war. The logical conclusion came in the Defence act of 1909, which enacted for the first time in any English-speaking community the principle of

[1] From article by Spencer Brodney in the New York Evening Post Saturday Magazine, January *22*, 1916.

universal liability to be trained in time of peace; in other words, the principle of "preparedness." It was, however, the year 1911 that really saw the commencement of the system as it now exists.

The scheme in its final form was improved by recommendations made by Lord Kitchener, who, as the greatest military expert in the British Empire, was invited to visit Australia and offer suggestions.

In Australia training begins at a much earlier age than in Switzerland. Long before Australian federation many schools had established corps of junior and senior cadets. In some cases the object was simply that of physical training; in others a belief that Australian boys should know how to handle a rifle. When the Commonwealth Parliament began to lay the foundations of the new system it was made obligatory that every boy between the ages of twelve and fourteen years should undergo a definite course of training in the junior cadets. The training consists of physical exercises, a little elementary marching drill, miniature rifle shooting, swimming, and first aid. The time occupied is about ninety hours a year, and the training is chiefly carried out by school teachers. The junior cadets are not provided with uniforms, nor are they formed into any military organization. The real object of the junior cadet training is to make the boy acquire habits that will save time and trouble when he reaches the next stage in the making of the citizen soldier.

There now follows four years' training in the senior cadets. Here the training is more like the real thing. The boys now wear uniforms and are organized into companies and battalions. The training includes marching, the handling of arms, musketry, physical drill, first aid, guards and sentries, tactical training as a company in elementary field work, and also elementary battalion drill. Senior cadets are not required to attend camps for continuous training. Their work is carried out in the districts where they live, according to a schedule of whole-day, half-day, and night drills. Although many of the older boys would be fit for active service, the senior cadets are not liable to be called out to fight, nor are they entitled to payment for attendance at drills. The period of training in the senior cadets concludes on June 30 in the year in which the boys reach the age of eighteen years.

The young Australian is now transferred to the citizen forces, which, under the direction of the very small permanent establishment, form the main bulwark of the Commonwealth's military

defence. The period of compulsory service is from the age of eighteen to twenty-six. Except in the last year, when only one registration muster parade is required, members of the citizen forces must undergo each year the equivalent of sixteen days' training, of which eight days are passed in camps of continuous training. In the artillery and engineers the period is twenty-five days, with seventeen in camp. When not in camp, the training is divided into whole-day, half-day, and night parades, at times most convenient to the men. While the citizen soldier's service is compulsory, it is not gratuitous, as the following rates of payment for each whole day's attendance shows: Recruits, that is, first-year men, 75 cents; privates after the first year, $1; corporals, $2.25; sergeants, $2.50; sergeant-majors, $2.55 and $2.75; lieutenants, $3.75; captains, $5.60; majors, $7.50; lieutenant-colonels, $9.25; colonels, $11.25. Married men receiving less than $2 a day are allowed for each day in camp, in respect of their wives living at home, the sum of 30 cents, and for each child 15 cents. The citizen soldier who is the sole support of a widowed mother also receives an additional allowance for each day spent in camp.

Every man has to start as a private in the Australian citizen army, no matter what his position may be. Money, influence, of education cannot help him to begin except on the lowest rung of the ladder. Promotion is absolutely by merit, the principle being that the best soldiers must lead. Competitive examinations are held to select non-commissioned and commissioned officers. Privates compete against one another for promotion to corporal, and corporals for promotion to sergeant, and so on upward. A young man who works in a store or a factory may thus be seen commanding the sons of rich men. The social effect of such a system in increasing the self-respect of the worker cannot but be far-reaching. The same democratic rule prevails at the West Point of Australia, the Royal Military College at Duntroon, Canberra. Entrance may be gained by the poorest boy in the land. Once he has won his way into the college he receives his instruction and maintenance free of all cost and an allowance of about nine and a half dollars a week to pay for clothes, books, and incidentals.

The case for compulsory training may be argued on a variety of grounds. There is ample evidence that physically and socially the Australian system has much in its favor. Nor has it been shown to be inimical in its working to the rights and liberties of a free people. It is not the militarism that grows out of govern-

ment controlled by aristocrats, financiers, and merchants, or influenced by manufacturers of armaments, but simply a reconciliation of military necessity and democratic principle.

It is as a democratic system of military preparedness that Australia's citizen army should at the present time be most interesting to the people of the United States.

AUSTRALIAN MILITARY TRAINING[1]

Australia is a country which has been working out a system of defense that has attracted the attention of the world's great powers. Within a very few years the military theory there has developed along lines which have converted a hired police force into a powerful organization of citizen soldiery.

The important section of the law of June 30, 1911, reads as follows:

All male inhabitants of Australia (excepting those who are exempted by this act), who have resided therein for six months and are British subjects, shall be liable to be trained as follows: (a) from 12 to 14 years of age in the junior cadets; (b) from 14 to 18 years of age in the senior cadets; (3) from 18 to 26 years of age in the citizen forces; provided that, except in time of imminent danger of war, the last year of service in the citizen forces shall be limited to one registration or one muster parade. On July 1 of his twelfth year, every Australian boy who has been found to be physically, morally, and mentally fit, becomes a junior cadet. The government gives him a hat, a shirt, breeches, puttees, and shoes. He receives ninety hours of military training each year for two years, when he graduates into the ranks of the senior cadets. For four years he is put through a course of drilling, marching, disciplining, the handling of arms, physical training, guard duty, and elementary tactics. Each year he receives a minimum of four four-hour drills, twelve two-hour drills, and twenty-four one-hour drills. Upon entering the senior cadets, he becomes the proud possessor of a cadet rifle and belt. If, as a marksman, he can meet certain stipulated requirements, he is allowed to handle a man's-size gun and to take part in target practice with the service rifle.

Not only does the senior cadet have the opportunity of reach-

[1] From "Are we ready?" by Howard D. Wheeler. Houghton. 1915.

ing his ambition of shooting with a real war gun, but he knows that when he is nineteen years old he is to become a full-fledged member of the citizen force of his country.

As a citizen soldier, he must each year receive not less than the equivalent of sixteen whole days' training, eight of which must be in camps of continuous training.

From the time of his junior cadetship, the natural tendencies of the youth are observed, and to a great extent he is allowed to follow his bent in fitting himself for a part in the country's defense. By the time he is past his junior and senior cadetships, what arm of the service he is best fitted for is usually very apparent. From the time that he is graduated from the ranks of the senior cadets until he is twenty-five years old, he receives infantry and cavalry drill or staff corps training. To attend one muster parade is all that is required of him in his twenty-sixth year, when he is discharged from "active service." Not until he is sixty years of age, however, does he cease to be subject to a call to the colors in time of war.

THE WYOMING PLAN[1]

The Wyoming school authorities hold:

1. That good citizenship involves a willingness on the part of each able-bodied youth to make such effort and sacrifice as will prepare him for his obligations and duties as a citizen.

2. That this preparation embraces the following: (a) Military preparation; (b) Moral preparation; (c) Civic preparation; (d) Business preparation; (e) Educational preparation.

(*A*) *Military Preparation*

It is unsound to assume that any system of training its adolescent youth will remove from the nation the further responsibility of training its manhood. Trained youth cannot take the place of trained manhood. Youths make imitation, but not real, soldiers. A thorough preliminary military training of its adolescent youth has been recognized in primitive as well as modern civilizations as the first step in the greater training of the tribe or nation. With the civilized as with the primitive youth the

[1] From "Outline of plan for military training in public schools of the United States," prepared by the U. S. Army War College. (War Dept. Document, No. 524.)

"game" is the medium of all successful training. "competition" is to youth what "security" is to old age.

According to the Wyoming plan all cadets are organized into competition units. Leaders take "turnabouts" choosing the members of their units, so that each unit (squad, platoon, or company) is made up of an equal number of strong, medium, and weak lads. After final choosing-up these units are fixed and cannot be added to nor subtracted from. All the work is done by competition units.

There are: Wall-scaling units; Infantry drill units; Troop leadership units; Scholarship units; Field firing units; Camp and field units.

Sponsors are elected from the girls in the mixed school and assigned to the competition units. The sponsors are in every sense members of the cadet organization. They attend all drills, are the leaders in all social functions, and while they do not actually drill the sponsors are entitled to and receive such individual rewards as may be won by their units.

Medals, ribbons, and distinctive marks on the uniform are given each member of a winning unit, the sponsor, of course, included.

Each cadet organization is based on the voluntary enlistment plan. The cadet classes are held generally during and not after school hours, and credit toward graduation is awarded therefor.

Cadet tournaments are held during the school year between the different high schools, to which the public is invited, and at which are held infantry drill, wall-scaling, field firing, and camp and field and troop leadership competition "games."

From the Wyoming experience is deduced the following system of training, adapted to the adolescent American youth. Local conditions will necessarily modify the application of this system, but the general principles on which it is based will obtain in any part of the United States, and will permit the evolution of a practical course suited to local conditions:

1. Cut the school year into separate, short, intensive training periods, working up through preliminary to final competition dates, with the fixed competition units.

2. September 1 to December 31, wall-scaling and calisthenic events; minimum of drill, maximum of body building.

3. January 1 to February 28, troop-leadership competitions, 12 inch Gettysburg war-game map. Include military policy of the United States.

4. January 1 to February 28, minimum of drill, maximum of gallery practice, group competitions.

5. March 1 to May 7, minimum of drill, maximum of range practice, and field-firing competitions.

6. May 8 to June 15, minimum of drill, maximum of camp and field problems, competitive between high schools.

7. All through school year, commencing in the spring and running through the following fall and winter, take boys into camp each week-end and harden them to the rigors of camp life. Teach them sanitation, cooking, woodcraft, simple field engineering, plains-craft, castramentation, sketching, scouting, patroling, the service of security and information, and qualify them as guides in their own immediate surrounding territory.

8. Summer camp immediately after closing of school, 14 days.

The organization that puts into effect the "game" idea differs fundamentally from the modern American athletic system. The cadet leaders choose up each in turn so that each fixed competition unit represents a certain proportion of strong, of medium, and of weak lads. In football and basketball and track events, only the *few physically fit take part.* In this system each squad represents an average and *every boy takes part.* There is as much "in it" for the weak as for the strong, and the survival of the fittest units, whether they be squads, platoons, or companies, gives the competition spirit.

(*B*) *Moral Preparation*

A nation stands or falls, succeeds or fails, just in proportion to the high-mindedness, cleanliness, and manliness of each succeeding generation of men. In the Wyoming system the fundamental factor is the competition between equally balanced units. The individuals are forced by public opinion amongst their fellows to go into training, and this training means clean, moral youths. It is shown conclusively in the various competitions that clean men morally are the surest kind of winners. Smoking and immoral practices must go. Under the fiercest kind of competition, and a new and fascinating interest in life, the adolescent youth is better enabled to negotiate that difficult period of life.

(*C*) *Civic Preparation*

It is almost a fundamental principle of correct military organization that the leader should not be voted for. The Wyom-

ing system is not intended to make soldiers. The Wyoming schoolmasters are of the opinion that soldiers can only be made from mature manhood, and that the preparation of the adolescent youth should be such that when he reaches manhood he may then be made into the highest type of soldier. Hence the objection to voting for leaders does not obtain in the cadet organization, whereas the objection is perfectly valid in a military organization.

The cadet leaders are chosen at the beginning of each year by vote of the older cadets. The leaders are selected on merit, very much as the captain of the football team is selected for his merit. It has been noticeable that on the first organization, boy politics elect a certain percentage of popular but inefficient leaders, whose very inefficiency is later a terrible punishment to the members of their own units. The stress of competition soon brings out the real leaders. The cadets never repeat their mistake. After the first election they take steps to insure a very wise and careful selection of leaders.

This civic lesson cannot be wholly lost to them in years to come, when they are called upon as citizens to elect the leaders of their city, county, state, and national governments.

(*D*) *Business Preparation*

Teamwork and efficiency are prime requisites in the business life of today.

The soldier game can be made the keenest, as well as the most fascinating of all games, and efficiency is a necessity if a competition unit is to win. Not only must each man be worked to the limit of his capacity, but each competition unit leader must analyze his men and fit each to his proper place. The leaders are always leading and learning efficiency.

Recommendations

1. That school boards throughout the United States be encouraged by the War Department to institute, in their school systems, a citizenship training similar to that outlined above.

2. That the proper authority request Congress to authorize the detail of United States army officers as instructors in public school systems.

3. That tentage and field equipment of obsolete or modern pattern be issued to school boards under bond in the same manner that Krag rifles and ammunition are now furnished.

MILITARY TRAINING IN COLLEGES[1]

Official authorization for the training in military science of students in sixteen of the country's leading universities and colleges was given by the War Department, October 17, to executive officers of the institutions, at a conference between them and ranking department officials. The purpose of the conference was to establish a systematic method for training reserve officers along lines described by the army reorganization law. A committee was appointed to work out a curriculum acceptable to the various institutions and the government and to arrange other details for the actual beginning of instruction. The members of the committee were: Dr. Lowell, of Harvard, chairman; Major John J. Kingman, U. S. A.; E. W. Nicholas, superintendent Virginia Military Institute; the Rev. Edward A. Pace, Catholic University of America; H. S. Drinker, president Lehigh; W. O. Thompson, president Ohio State University, and George E. Vincent, president University of Minnesota.

The curriculum was to be drafted to cover such subjects as are known to junior army officers and would exempt graduates of such institutions from the necessity of taking the regular army examination to obtain commissions as reserve officers. It would be made effective when completed by a general order issued by the Secretary of War.

The institutions authorized to give military instruction were:—Princeton University, Harvard University, Yale University, University of Michigan, University of Alabama, Virginia Military Institute, Stevens Institute of Technology, Catholic University of America, Lehigh University, Ohio State University of Tennessee, Clemson Agricultural College, University of Minnesota, University of Illinois, College of the City of New York and University of Vermont.

[1] Information. *2*: 465. November, 1916.

MILITARY EDUCATION—PRO AND CON[1]

Con

Among the arguments that have been made against military education, the following are found:

The ends of education are antagonistic to the ends of war. Military education fosters the military spirit. The growth of the military spirit has done much to hamper the civilization and prosperity of Europe and the attempt to encourage this spirit in America is a menace to true freedom.

Military instruction in schools gives boys a distaste for military service; it is not a good preparation for the life of a soldier and unfits boys to enter the business of fighting as they should.

It is contrary to the wishes and inclinations of a large number of our people. Military education would give the young men the idea that we are educating them to fight. It would have the tendency of causing them to think that our differences can be settled in no other way than by war. Nor would such instruction tend to promote patriotism.

It would tend to lower rather than raise the standards of our schools. Each study would further overload the curriculum. The demand of the times is for abbreviation, not for extension, of courses giving preparation for college and business. Even as a physical exercise, military drill and setting up exercises are considered as overrated.

Some arguments take notice of the fact that in 1898 volunteers came forward much faster than the government was able to arm and equip them; in other words, that our lack of preparation lies in places that cannot be touched by military instruction in schools. Others claim that the records of our volunteers show that long military training is not necessary in order to develop soldierly qualities of the highest order.

There is a danger that the inculcation of mere military discipline may come in a military school to take the place of the development of moral character, of moral purity and uprightness.

[1] From "Military education of the youth of our country," by Captain Howard R. Hickok. Military Service Institution of the United States. Journal. 51: 173-95. September-October, 1912.

Other points advanced are: that it is expensive, that the cost must ordinarily be borne by the local community, that the purchase of the uniform is frequently an expense which the student or his parents cannot bear. The fact that some boys can purchase uniforms and that others cannot frequently acted to create caste, causing the school authorities to discontinue the drill.

Pro

In war the most fit from a military standpoint survive. As our historical traditions prevent our keeping a large standing army, it is our duty to so instruct our young men that whenever the hour of need may come they may the quicker be molded into shape for service.

Military instruction increases the usefulness and value of the students to the state by preparing them for duty as soldiers, whether as regulars, militia or volunteers.

Military education will not, in general, create a love for war. To the contrary, the greater our education in military matters the greater is our appreciation of the horrors of war and the greater are our desires to avoid them.

The boy's military ambition and curiosity will ordinarily be satisfied with a few years of service in the cadet corps. His love for war is not developed, but he has acquired such a knowledge of the fundamental principles that when he is called into service he will the quicker become efficient and rise to posts of responsibility.

As to the value of military drill, including the setting-up exercises, it is quite generally accepted that it gives boys a dignified and soldierly carriage, including erectness of figure, expansion of the chest, eliminates awkwardness and produces graceful and correct movements; it is not too severe for the weak nor too light for the strong; as against the gymnasium, it is more interesting; it contributes to better health.

It trains the boys in obedience, first as privates in the ranks; then, as officers, they are taught self-control, tact, discretion and the responsible use of authority; it induces respect for law and order; it assists the school discipline; it is an excellent break in the monotony of the school routine.

Among the intellectual benefits are: it quickens the boy's attention; the unconscious habit of obedience leads to the sub-

ordination of the body to the mind; it is excellent in overcoming timidity and in developing self-confidence in the leader; it increases the boy's self-respect; it is one of the best means of curbing selfishness, of establishing an esprit de corps and of keeping the boys from the rough play of the streets and from rougher companions; the uniform obliterates "class" distinctions; it produces men of better courage and greater vigor; it develops the power of application.

AFFIRMATIVE DISCUSSION

MILITARY TRAINING VALUABLE AND VALUELESS[1]

The entire nation is seething with so-called "preparedness." Millionaires whose military knowledge is in inverse ratio to their money are establishing themselves at the head of volunteer companies, regiments and even "armies." Every section of the country boasts of its summer camp, either under government or private supervision. The military schools and colleges are attempting to strengthen their military work, and the big universities are adding military courses to their curriculums. The purpose of all this is to give the citizens of the nation "military training" and when matters have reached the present stage it is high time that someone should pause and ascertain just what "military training" really is.

Princeton University seems to think that it consists of some dozen or more disconnected lectures by officers of the army. A. J. Drexel-Biddle has discovered that it is a system of week end drills. Certain boards of education have determined that military training shall be the execution of "Squads right and left" and the "setting up" exercises by little boys in the public schools.

The National Guard has assumed that it may be gained by a system of weekly drills supplemented by theoretical schools and a week or more of camp annually. The business men find that it should be a month's "intensive training." West Point decides that it takes four years' hard work, and so on indefinitely. Personally, after about fifteen years of theoretical and practical work, I am beginning to hope that I have had some of its rudiments, and I have no doubt that many an old army officer will state that it is more than can be fully accomplished in a lifetime.

The utter absurdity of some of the wild theories as to mili-

[1] By Captain Richard Stockton, Jr., Second New Jersey Infantry. Military Service Institution. Journal. 59: 1-10 July-August, 1916. (Reeve memorial prize essay.)

tary training on the one hand and the apparent impossibility of a situation by which the average civilian can secure the training which a good officer thinks essential on the other, leads to the necessity of determining if there is a valuable and yet reasonable degree of military training which may be imparted to the citizen. This should be a training which will make him of real value in case of war, and at the same time it should be one which will add to his worth as a useful citizen in time of peace.

At present the nation is in actual danger from the well-meant enthusiasm of the men who plan to "save the day." Time and time again have the military publications noted the fact that by some curious twist in their reasoning, American citizens cannot rid themselves of the possession that the soldier is the last man to whom we should look for military advice. Nor can we seem to distinguish between the advice given by some "made-over-night" militia general, who has never uttered a single command to so much as a corporal's squad, and a graduate of the various schools and colleges of the army, from West Point to the War College, not to speak of that long and useful term which every army officer spends in the school of experience. Following the example of our military committee of the House, it is natural that any state legislature, or sub-committee thereof, or any board of education, or board of trustees, or even individual, should assume capability to determine the proper degree of military training for those over whom they may have power. If the fourteen lawyers, three merchants, two editors, the banker, the drummer and the ball player comprising the military committee of the lower house of Congress can utterly disregard the advice of all the military experts of the nation and frame a military bill that will give us "preparedness," why cannot the farmers on the Boonville Board of Education, or the clergymen who are trustees of Blank Institute, do likewise with equal success?

They can, with equal success, and, unfortunately, no more. Herein lies the ridiculousness and the danger of the present wave of "military training." It is time to realize that military training which is stripped of its most valuable attributes is really worse than none at all, insofar as all military measures which lull the nation into a false sense of security are more harmful than such an entire absence of preparedness that the nation is awake to its needs.

Hence, if the nation is to be prevented from hiding its danger

by playing ostrich, if we are to stop our people from buncoing themselves into the idea that our citizens are trained when they actually have but a shallow pretense of training, it is of utmost importance that steps be taken to furnish the public with some idea of just what the fundamentals of military training are, and how such fundamentals may best be imparted to our populace.

What, then, are the fundamentals of military training? What must be the features of a system of training which is adapted to the requirements of our country? Is it theory, such as the Princeton students will receive, or is it drill such as the boys in some public schools will receive?

I venture to emphasize the thought that it is neither the one nor the other. The fundamentals of military training are not tactical theories or parade ground drill work. On the contrary, the fundamental necessary for military success is exactly the same as for civil life. In a word it is the development of men.

By men I mean men of strong character and strong bodies—men such as the United States is but sparsely populated with. This is not due to any lack of excellent raw material among our people, but to the fact that our people lack good military training.

There is no doubt of the fact that our male population has declined both in general military knowledge and in the fundamental characteristics of a good soldier. Since the day when the old muzzle loader hung on every wall, and was carried almost continually by every man, conditions have changed greatly. Then every man knew how to use a soldier's weapons. Today men who can use them even indifferently are rare. Then the frontier life, the hardships, the actual war to exist not only gave the male population some knowledge of a soldier's weapons, but also developed to a slight degree the fundamentals of military training which are essential to a properly trained and disciplined army.

In spite of this partial development of the foundation of real military training, Washington's chief trouble with his armies was its lack—the lack of a thorough instillation of what have been termed "the military virtues"—the lack of a proper discipline.

Washington once said, "Men accustomed to unbounded freedom and no control cannot brook the restraint which is indispensably necessary to the good order and government of an army, without which licentiousness and every kind of disorder triumphantly reign. To bring men to a proper degree of subordination is not the work of a day or a month or even a year."

A superficial glance over the military history of our early wars will show the great degree to which our armies suffered because they did not have that required degree of "subordination" and the more carefully the matter is studied the more apparent the fact becomes. Washington emphasized this truth repeatedly. In 1780 he wrote the now well-known passage commencing:

> Had we formed a permanent army in the beginning, which by the continuance of the same men in service, had been capable of *discipline*, we never should have had to retreat with a handful of men across the Delaware in 1776, trembling for the fate of America, which nothing but the infatuation of the enemy could have saved; we should not have remained all the succeeding winter at their mercy, with sometimes scarcely a sufficient body of men to mount the ordinary guards, liable at every moment to be dissipated, if they had only thought proper to march against us.

Today, far more than during the Revolution, our young men lack proper regard for authority, proper subordination to discipline. They lack the all-around development needed by a soldier, they lack executive ability, the power to command successfully as well as to obey. They do not like reasonable restraint.

It is most important that our citizens get the "proper degree of subordination"—that they learn how to obey and how to lead —that they absorb the "military virtues."

I know of a young man who was a sergeant in the National Guard and who could repeat the schools of the soldier, squad and company, word for word exactly as they appear in the infantry drill regulations, but in spite of that no good company commander would want him for a corporal. I remember how he nearly ruined one of the best men in a batch of recruits which he was drilling, by unmerited, sarcastic and insulting remarks as to the man's small stature. In spite of his "book" knowledge he was useless as a non-commissioned officer owing to his utter inability to use his power with fairness and discretion. He lacked a fundamental of military training.

I know of a cadet officer who is noted for the amount of punishment inflicted on those under his charge. Nevertheless, he is never able to keep cadets under his command in good order, while other cadet officers can keep the same cadets in perfect order with practically no punishment. That cadet officer lacks a fundamental of military training.

There is another young man who spent four years at a semi-military school, who is a military enthusiast and a conscientious,

efficient fellow. However, when he went to Plattsburg, it was found that he had certain physical defects which might have been removed by a constant course of corrective physical work. He was unable to remain because he lacked a fundamental of military training.

Any well-trained officer who attends the camps of instruction of the officers of the National Guard and compares the conditions with those in a company of the regular army, cannot fail to note the lack of soldierly standards and sense of discipline which is the general rule, even among otherwise well-grounded citizen soldier officers. This is because the majority of those officers have not had a constant course in the essential fundamentals of military training. With the enlisted men of the guard, of course, this is true to an even greater degree. It will always be true of any citizen soldiery, either state or federal, unless, at some previous time, its members have had the necessary fundamental training.

Regardless of technical and theoretical training, and regardless of the amount of mere drill which a man may have, he cannot be a good soldier unless he has certain essential characteristics as a foundation. This foundation must be courage rather than cowardice, physical fitness in place of lack of development, patriotism, not self-interest, constraint rather than license, discipline rather than lawlessness, quick initiative not dullness, courtesy in place of boorishness.

It must include the ability to obey orders promptly in face of great danger, to suffer hardships, to assume skilfully leadership of men, to accept great responsibility without hesitation. Without servility it must include a strong sense of obligation, due consideration for elders, for those in authority, for law and proper customs.

Moreover, to bring about such a condition is one of the greatest needs of the American nation, be it for civil or military purposes. This does not mean that we should not have freedom. Freedom, however, does not require license, nor does a reasonable degree of restraint mean oppression or tyranny. Young America must learn consideration for parents, elders, laws and develop an intelligent sense of obligation, responsibility, and dependability. Old America should do likewise.

No matter what his theoretical knowledge, and no matter how good a man may be in mere drill, unless he has loyalty, man-

liness, a sound body, and the other military virtues, all developed to a high degree, he is not a trained man.

When these are attained, then whatever military knowledge is added, is of so much more value. However, the above fundamental characteristics of military training cannot be attained to a satisfactory degree by a course of lectures or by a system of week-end drills, or by an hour or so a week of mere drilling in public schools, or by any means other than an unremitting course of training. For, as Washington has said, "The firmness requisite to the real business of fighting is only to be obtained by a constant course of discipline and service." It "is not the work of a day or a month or even a year."

Princeton with its new lecture course fails to give the essential principles of military training, public schools and colleges, with their "two full hours of drill per week" fail to give the essentials of military training. Mr. Biddle and his volunteers, the Plattsburg camps, and the National Guard all fail to give the essential foundation of military training. They fail for lack of a "constant course of discipline and service."

How then shall we obtain that foundation? By compulsory training of several years or so in the regular army? Just that, preferably. However, as compulsory regular service seems unlikely, what then?

If we cannot have compulsory service in our regular force, the solution is to make those in charge of our schools and colleges understand that mere military drill is not training—that mere military theory is not training, and that mere drill and theory are not the most important things to instil in the youth of America.

It should be made clear that the training which our schools should give to be of greater military value is identical with that needed to correct one of the greatest defects in our educational system. We should make our educators understand that the most important contribution that they can make to the cause of citizenship as well as to that of "preparedness" is to give our youth the much-needed "constant course of discipline."

If our schools can be induced to put their students continually in uniform, to give them disciplinary drill in close order, to keep them under the constant influence of military life and discipline with rigid observance of military customs, courtesies, and standards as is the case at such institutions as Norwich Univer-

sity, the Virginia Military Institute, Culver Military Academy, St. John's Military Academy, and others, much will be accomplished toward giving our citizens a sound foundation of military training, even if but little is done in imparting the theory of minor tactics, the principles of combat and other important but more advanced work.

Let our educators study the life at West Point, at Norwich, Culver, St. John's, and the other "Honor" and "Distinguished" colleges and schools whose students are constantly under military discipline. Let them as far as practicable introduce the life of these institutions in our educational system. If necessary omit the more advanced military work—merely provide the constant discipline—the military atmosphere. Let the students learn to obey, let them as cadet officers have actual authority and learn to command, give attention to physical requirements, promptness, the extremes of military courtesy. Let them gain knowledge of our military history, and of the requirements of a sound military policy. Let them drill only in so far as is desirable from a disciplinary viewpoint, but give them military discipline—complete military supervision and life at all times. Such would be the best military training for our youth. This does not necessarily mean that schools should not give further training in the art of war, it merely emphasizes the fact that a sound foundation should first be laid. The educational system of the country has a distinct and invaluable part to play in our national "preparedness" and that part is to give our men the necessary fundamentals rather than to turn out soldiers supposed to be ready to go at once to war.

It is important that we should realize that it is impossible to educate a boy and turn out a finished officer at the same time. Even West Point and Annapolis do not do it. These great military schools, though their theoretical and practical work is considerable, merely turn out young officers with the best of foundations, who are developed by experience and further study in the educational system of the army and navy.

Military training is of unquestioned value. Those who oppose it are those who do not know what it means. A sample of the ignorance of the average educator as to military training is shown in the recent profound discussion as to whether military training is of more physical value than certain gymnastics, calisthenics and sports. Were these educators better informed they

would realize that military training includes all these things and more. They would know that the army publishes a complete manual (The Manual of Physical Training), prescribing calisthenics, gymnastics, games and contests, as part of the military work to be done. Most educators seem to think that military training is merely military drill—but there is a vast difference. Furthermore, if some of those who think that military training dulls initiative were confronted with the conditions frequently met by our enlisted men in charge of patrols, they would get a different idea of the degree of leadership, initiative and responsibility that real military training requires.

Henry C. Emery, professor of economics at Yale University, has written:

> I believe that the efficiency of factory labor in Germany has been greatly increased through military education, and that the young men who have been through this training become much more efficient in the field of production in later years than they would have been had they not been obliged to undergo this training at all.

Brig.-Gen. John P. Pershing, now commanding our forces in Mexico, has well summed up the situation when he says, "Military training inspires respect for constituted authority, it demonstrates the necessity for obedience to law and makes better and more useful citizens. Any man who has had a course of military instruction, either in a first-class military school or in the army, will invariably say that it played a very essential part in fitting him for his lifework. Young men who do well in the military courses of our schools and colleges generally succeed later on above their fellows. Many of the prominent men of the growing west have served one or two enlistments in the regular army, and all consider the training highly valuable, both mentally and physically. There is no system of bodily training that equals the actual physical process of making a soldier. No better evidence of the beneficial effects of military training on the citizen can be found than the testimony of those who have experienced its advantages. The class of men who are today opposing military training of the youth are those who probably know the least about its benefits."

There are some important truths which should be placed before the American public. Briefly these are as follows:

1. Military training is invaluable in peace as well as in war.
2. Military drill is *not* military training.

3. Military theory is *not* military training.

4. Military training requires that those receiving it be constantly in uniform, constantly under discipline, and in a constant military atmosphere. It cannot be imparted by an intermittent application of discipline, nor in a very short period of time.

5. Owing to the above facts no soldiery whose members are primarily citizens and secondarily soldiers, and whose training consists entirely of that received intermittently, can become properly disciplined. Neither the much needed absolute federal control of our citizen soldiery nor compulsory service in a citizen force can remove this defect.

6. The value of military drill and of military theory in schools and colleges is small compared to that of real, fundamental training in the military virtues.

7. Real military training cannot be imparted to our youth by officers or men who have not themselves had a long course of continuous military discipline. The officer who has only had intermittent training is usually himself deficient and unable to enforce proper standards for others.

8. Institutions which have mere military departments, instead of being "essentially military," cannot impart real military training.

9. If our schools and colleges should constantly train the youth of the country, in fundamental military discipline and characteristics, much would be done to remove a weakness which must otherwise always exist in our citizen soldiery. Our men would receive the fundamental characteristics as youths and could add theoretical and practical knowledge of combat as members of the citizen soldiery when young men. A much better disciplined citizen force would result. Thus our schools would perform a far greater service than is possible through mere military drill, military lectures or other superficial methods.

10. The educators of the country by encouraging such training can render the nation a service which at present seems impossible by other persons and methods.

For the sake of our country we should instill the military fundamentals in our citizens for peace as much as for war. Their value is unquestioned by competent observers.

Under proper plans our schools and colleges can do much toward imparting this training. It is a great opportunity for those in charge of our educational systems.

THE PATRIOT'S MILITARY CREED[1]

I believe in Peace, but in Peace with Honor and Self-respect.

I believe that War is a terrible thing that should be avoided, if possible, but I also believe that there are things in this world worse than War, and Peace without Honor and Self-respect is one of them.

I believe in what the Flag of my Country stands for—Honor, Justice, Truth, Civilization, Democracy, Liberty, Humanity.

I believe it the duty of every American to uphold the Flag and what it stands for, and I believe it the duty of every able-bodied American to prepare himself in a Military way for this Responsibility.

I believe in Personal Preparedness, by which I mean if I am ever needed to defend my Sister, my Mother, my Home, and my Country, I will be Prepared to do so.

I believe in National Preparedness, by which I mean my Country being Prepared to uphold what the Flag stands for and to defend itself if attacked.

I believe that Citizenship carries with it Obligations as well as Privileges, and I believe that Military Service is one of the most important of these Obligations.

I believe in the benefits of Military Training; I believe that it strengthens the body, benefits the health, improves the mind and teaches obedience, respect for law and order, patriotism, courtesy, honor, loyalty, manliness, cleanliness, thoroughness, system, organization and teamwork. In short, I believe in Military Training because it makes for Efficiency and better Citizenship.

THE NEEDS OF OUR ARMY[2]

In this country, the ideas of the average individual concerning his obligations to the government and the government's obligations to him are vague and crude to the last degree. Conscription would largely remedy this by teaching duty to the government.

[1] From "Privates' manual," by James A. Moss. George Banta Publishing Co. 1916.
[2] From "Defenseless America," p. 136-8, by Hudson Maxim. 1915.

The government has exactly the same right to levy on the individual for military service as it has to tax him for anything else. Just as the government has the right to tax the individual for financial support of the government ,so it has the right to tax the individual for military support of the government. Conscription makes the government and the individual partners for the common welfare. Few persons in this country consider themselves partners of the government.

Perhaps the best system of preparing the youth and young men of a country for military service is that practised in Switzerland. Switzerland is a typical democracy, and yet no country in the world has a more universal and efficient system of military training for its youth and young men.

After the conclusion of the war of 1870, Germany, guided by the iron will of Bismarck, divulged to Switzerland that the mailed fist had an itching palm for Swiss territory. Immediately an army of a hundred thousand Swiss mobilized on the frontier. They were the best-armed, the best-trained, and altogether the most efficient soldiers in Europe. Every man of them could shoot to kill. They were the flower of the mountains. Bismarck concluded that the game was not worth the candle. If Switzerland had not been armed to the teeth and ready, that country to-day would be a part of Germany.

The Swiss have not the remotest idea of making an aggressive move on any neighboring country, but they hold themselves in perfect readiness to see to it that no other nation can find it profitable to make an aggressive move on Switzerland.

Switzerland makes her military training a part of her school system. The chubby, rosy-cheeked little Swiss boys are taught to play soldier with wooden imitation guns, and as they grow, the training later becomes more comprehensive, more exacting, more scientific, until, finally the young men find real guns in their hands, find themselves commanded by, and receiving instructions from real officers, and they are taught to shoot. When their school training is over, their military training and term of military service also are over. They are ready for civil life, but, too, they are ready at any moment for the call of their country from civil life to shoulder rifle and knapsack and go to the front.

This is the system that we should adopt in our country. It places no burden upon the schoolboy or the young man; on the

contrary, it is a source of keen enjoyment, like any other manly game.

The beneficial psychological effect is simple. The youth is taught obedience, his powers of perception are quickened, his alertness increased, his physique greatly strengthened, his health benefited, and his personal habits governed by laws of temperance and hygiene, with the result that his efficiency for usefulness in all the business and affairs of civil life afterward is greatly enhanced. Thus, in Switzerland, the earning power of the population is increased out of all proportion to the cost for the training and maintenance of the entire army.

REASONABLE PREPARATION FOR WAR[1]

What shall we do to adequately prepare ourselves for war, without establishing a huge standing army or bringing about a condition which might be described as one of militarism, which term, as I use it, means the condition under which the military forces of a nation demand and secure special recognition, both socially and officially, and exercise an undue influence in the conduct of the civil affairs of the government, both at home and abroad. In other words, a condition which may be described as one under which the military element dominates the nation's policy. Nothing could be more unfortunate than the establishment of such a condition in this country or elsewhere, so far as development on normal lines is concerned. However, a condition of thorough preparedness can be established without creating a condition of militarism. Switzerland is an illustration of this possibility. Here we have a country noted for its patriotism, distinguished for conservatism and good government, with a people noted for intelligence, industry and good conduct, yet every man who is physically fit has, with few exceptions, received a sufficient amount of military training to fit him to be an efficient soldier.

It has been accomplished in great part during his school period, and at camps of instruction during his youth, and so thorough and complete is the system that at the end of his school and other training received during this period it is only necessary to give him from two to three months intensive train-

[1] From "The military obligation of citizenship," by Leonard Wood, Major-General United States Army. Princeton University Press. 1915.

ing in camp, according to the arm in which he is to serve, to fit him for the final discharge of his duties. The training for officers is, of course, extended over longer periods, but all of this training is accomplished without any interference worthy of consideration with the youth's educational and industrial career. In fact, he is better physically, morally and better as a citizen, because of his training. He has learned to respect the flag of his country and to have a proper regard for the rights of others, and he has had built up in him an appreciation of his obligation to serve the country in time of war. He realizes that this is a tax on which all others depend, and on the payment of which in good faith the life of the nation itself rests.

The Swiss system costs about $6,500,000 a year. There can be no question of its benefit to the people from an economic standpoint, as well as from a military standpoint. The influence in bettering citizenship is shown in the criminal rate of Switzerland, which is only a small fraction of our own. We must adopt a system based on these general lines if we are ever to be efficiently prepared for war or, better said, prepared against war, for our preparation is really an insurance against war rather than an incentive to it. Do not place any dependence upon the statements of these charlatans who speak of a million men flocking to arms between sun and sun, but remember when you hear fallacies of this sort the words of old Light-Horse Harry Lee, which are as true today as they were when they were uttered. We must preserve our ideals, strive for world peace, and do what we can to build up the adjustment of international difficulties through arbitration, but we must not fail to give due heed to the conditions under which we live. Whatever we may hope for in the way of universal peace does not justify us in disregarding the conditions which surround us today. If we want to hand down to our children the heritage which has come to us from our fathers, we must not place confidence in idle boasting but give serious heed to well thought out preparation and adopt a policy for the future with reference to our military establishment very different from that which has existed in the past. We can do this without violating our ideals. If I were to state such a military policy I would say, briefly, have an army sufficient for the peace needs of the nation, a good militia, an adequate navy, and behind them the largest possible number of men trained to be efficient soldiers if needed, but in time of peace following their ordinary civil

occupations—ready to come when wanted. A country so prepared will have the largest possible measure of peace.

We do not want war, but we must not forget that there is many a peace which is infinitely worse than war, such as a peace which results from failure to do our clear duty to fight for what we believe is right or to support our honest convictions. We in this country do not want a large standing army, nor do we desire anything which savors of militarism. We do need and those who are intelligent enough to appreciate the the situation want, an adequate army.

We cannot depend upon volunteers in future wars, as we have in past wars, for the simple reason that the onrush of a modern war is so sudden and all our possible antagonists, concerning whom we need have any serious apprehension, are so thoroughly prepared that there will be no time to train volunteers, and certainly no time to train officers. Washington and the officers of his time were convinced of the folly of depending upon volunteers.

Old Light-Horse Harry Lee summed the situation as follows: "That government is a murderer of its citizens which sends them to the field uninformed and untaught, where they are to meet men of the same age and strength, mechanized by education and discipline for battle."

Those words are just as true and just as applicable today as they were when they were uttered. We are no longer an Anglo-Saxon race, but a very mixed one. Blood strains from all parts of Europe run through our people, and their influence is felt in the descendant of the new-comers. Everything indicates the necessity today, more than ever before, of thorough preparation. Now, while we do not desire a large standing army, we must have the kind of army and an army of the strength referred to above. We must have also a great body of 35,000 or 40,000 reserve officers trained and ready to serve as officers of volunteers. We must have a sound military system—one which tends to produce in the heart of every boy the consciousness of the fact that he is one of the defenders of the country and impels him to make the necessary preparation.

The military systems of Switzerland or Australia appeal to me very strongly as models which we could follow to our advantage in all which pertains to military training. Switzerland has had her system in operation long enough to make its

application general, and as a result, while a peaceful, orderly country, she stands always ready to defend her rights and to guard her territory. She is absolutely free from all indication of militarism, as ordinarily understood, and yet every man in Switzerland who is physically fit has received a sufficient amount of training to make him an effective and efficient soldier; that this has served to benefit and uplift the people is conclusively shown by her low criminal rate, which is only a fraction of ours, and by the admitted conservatism of her people, their law-abiding habits, their patriotism and their respect for the rights of others. Contrast her position of today with that of another small European country, which, unlike her, had not made due preparation. In both Switzerland and Australia a large amount of instruction is given through public schools or during the school period of the youth—so much, indeed, that only two or three months of intensive training in camp are necessary to complete the training of the soldier. The officers take a longer and more intensive course, but the system in both countries is worked out so that there is practically no interference with the industrial or educational careers of those under training.

As I have said before, there has been little or no interest in this country in this great question of military training. There has been a general haphazard policy and a blind dependence upon volunteers; in other words, a dependence upon someone else doing one's work. It is an illogical system. There is no reason why one group of the population should assume that another group is going to voluntarily perform their military duties. The obligation to military service is universal. It is a tax upon which all others depend, and a nation which fails to recognize this prepares its own downfall. This general training can all be effected as has been done in Switzerland and Australia, without a trace of militarism, without any departure from ideals, and with a great resulting improvement in the morals, physique and character of our youth. In Switzerland and Australia the training of young boys is principally of a calisthenic character. Later they pass to rifle shooting and military formations. The final finish is put upon them in training at the camps which immediately precede their entry into the first line of the country's defense.

You must not think that war is one of the great destroyers of human life. It does take many lives, but it is among the lesser

causes of loss of life. Our industrial casualties, not deaths, necessarily, but casualties of all kinds, amount to something over 450,000 a year. Of these, about 78,000 or 79,000 result fatally—a loss rather exceding the average loss of life of two years of the Civil War. Most of these accidents are preventable. The public interest in life saving is not sufficiently keen to insist on adequate legislation to this end. The losses in the war are more dramatic, more startling, but the lives lost in every day work in the struggle for existence exceed them vastly in number and run on without ceasing, both during peace and war.

Do not give up your ideals. Strive for universal peace, but while striving do not forget the conditions under which you are living, and, however much you may hope to obtain a condition of world peace, remember that there is no evidence of it today and that if we want to preserve the institutions which have been handed down to us we must be ready to defend them or, as Lord Roberts said:

"Strive to stir up, to foster and develop the manly and more patriotic spirit in the nation—a spirit which will induce our youth to realize that they must be not only ready but prepared to guard the heritage handed down to them."

Abandon the theory of chance and adopt that of probability in making wise provisions for peace through preparedness for war.

IMPORTANCE OF TRAINING[1]

It is impossible to lay too much stress upon the absolute necessity from a military standpoint of an organization the basic principles of which have never been more comprehensively enunciated than by Secretary of War Calhoun in 1820, when he declared "that, at the commencement of hostilities, there should be nothing either to new model or to create." For this fundamental reason all organization which is to be sound must take place in time of peace, otherwise it cannot be in working order when war arises. In this connection emphasis is again placed upon the imperative necessity for a reserve force of trained officers, in order that they may be available the instant the new and augmented forces are called into service. The difficulty which Great

[1] From "Military unpreparedness of the United States," p. 550-52, by Frederic Louis Huidekoper. Macmillan. 1915.

Britain has encountered in obtaining trained and experienced officers for her volunteers in the present European war ought to be a lesson by which Americans should profit.

The crux of the whole question is in the matter of training. Without trained reserves it is utterly impossible to mobilize an army for war with any degree of promptness. Without trained officers long periods of schooling are necessary to bring soldiers up to even a moderate degree of efficiency. Without training men are worse than useless in war. From a military point of view the problem of obtaining men in time of war would be tremendously simplified if military drill, military hygiene and the elements of rifle shooting were made compulsory in every public and private school, as well as in every college and university in the United States. Properly conducted, such training might readily be made as little irksome as is the work of the Boy Scouts or of the young men who have attended the students' military instruction camps; and the youngsters in these two categories have taken to the work with genuine avidity. In the author's opinion the school, college or university which is the first to require every male student, not physically or mentally incapacitated, to take a course in military training before a diploma is given him will perform a great public service and set an example which many of our educational institutions will be glad to follow. The author appreciates that his advocacy of such an innovation is open to attack by a host of carping critics who will indulge in the hackneyed clamor against "militarism," but it is too much to ask such people to realize that, great as may be the advantage of such training to the country in time of crisis, greater far will be the benefit conferred upon the individual in his everyday life. If sound bodies, well-developed physiques, knowledge of hygiene, the lessons of self-control, and the inculcation of obedience and of that patriotism which actuates the individual to make sacrifices for his country are of no benefit to a nation, then the scheme has no justification. If, on the other hand, such a course of training produces better men physically and better citizens, merely by curbing the spirit of disobedience which has made the American deservedly a byword for lawlessness and lack of true patriotism, and if it can accomplish for the boys a part of what it does for the men in our regular army to whom we point with pride, no really valid objection can be raised against it. One of the ablest of American political economists

[Henry C. Emery of Yale in "Some economic aspects of war," p. 20-1] has openly declared that "the efficiency of factory labor in Germany has been greatly increased through this military education, and that the young men who have been through this military training become much more efficient in the field of production in later years than they would have been had they not been obliged to undergo this training at all." "The proof of the pudding is in the eating," and in certain ways we Americans can derive no little profit from the example of German efficiency and the comparative inefficiency of British land forces thus far in the present European war.

Part and parcel of the system of military education of which the United States stands in dire need are the students' military instruction camps inaugurated in 1913. This innovation—which was one of the best measures of recent years—requires nothing more than additional development to make it an institution which will exercise a beneficial influence far beyond present expectations. The intensive training given has already laid the foundations for a small number of good soldiers, and the most proficient can, if given additional training, be utilized as lieutenants or even as captains in any volunteer force which might be raised in time of war.

UNIVERSAL MILITARY SERVICE[1]

The assertion that the United States must ultimately adopt universal military training and service as the basis of national preparedness rests upon a logical and incontrovertible foundation. Two facts must be admitted, as follows:

First: That the United States will never possess a navy sufficiently large to thoroughly patrol and defend its extensive coastline.

Second: That American tradition and sentiment will prevent the creation and support of a permanent regular army large enough to combat successfully the enemy forces which could be landed upon our shores.

Granting that these two things are true, the defense of our country must inevitably depend upon an adequate force of citizen

[1] By Henry Litchfield West. American Defense 1: 295+. September, 1916. Also in Congressional Record: Extension of remarks of William S. Bennet in the House, August 18, 1916.

soldiery pursuing peaceful vocations under normal conditions, but thoroughly trained and equipped to meet immediately an emergency of threatened danger.

The navy is only the first line of defense. If we should have a navy of sufficient strength to overcome an opposing fleet or fleets at one or more points between Portland and Galveston or between Seattle and San Diego, the people of the United States could rest in certain security from attack. A navy of this size is, however, beyond our fondest hopes. It has taken England centuries to build up the navy which she now possesses and the construction of a fleet equal to the British would not only require many years, but would entail an enormous cost upon our resources.

Even now, when the United States stands fourth in naval strength, there are other nations which could overcome our ships at sea, thus insuring a clear highway for the landing of transports bringing literally hundreds of thousands of men.

A large standing army is equally impossible. As a matter of fact, this ought to be the case. To create and maintain a regular army of 500,000 men would be an enormous tax upon the American people, besides which it would be entirely out of harmony with all our traditions and ideals. Even should such an army be authorized, it is doubtful if it could be recruited. While the United States pays more per capita for its army than any other nation, it is extremely difficult to get men to surrender the opportunities of earning a livelihood in order to receive the meager compensation which the regular army affords. The effort to increase the regular army under the stress of the excitement on the Mexican border has not been successful.

Recent events have also demonstrated that a volunteer army is not to be depended upon. After much delay several regiments of the National Guard have been sent to the Mexican border, but a very large number of men in the ranks wore the uniform for the first time, and were absolutely untrained and unfit for the work assigned them. It is not fair, moreover, that the force thus summoned for service should be composed wholly of men who regard devotion to their country as a duty, while thousands of other men even better fit physically and financially for the sacrifice remain at home.

If we had had in this country a system of universal military training and service such as the Swiss have had for many years,

the men sent to the border would have been taken from all ranks of life; there would have been equality in the matter of enlistment and, more important than all, there would have been preliminary training which would have gone far toward making the organization effective in the military sense.

We speak of universal military training as if it were something new and at variance with the principles of our government. Nothing could be further from the truth. The bitter experiences of the revolutionary war, when Washington secured an army with great difficulty, demonstrated to that great commander the fact that if our republic were to exist in the future, it must rely for its defense upon a trained citizen soldiery. He unquestionably had much to do with the constitutional declaration that "well-regulated militia is necessary to the security of a free state" and he went further in the statement that "a free people ought not only to be armed, but disciplined."

He emphasized his belief that the safety of the nation depended upon "an adequate stock of military knowledge for emergencies," and he advocated the spread of this knowledge among the entire American people. He saw very clearly that if the United States should become a nation so pacific as to be unable to defend itself, it would unquestionably become a prey to the greed and aggression of some more powerful nation. "If we desire to avoid insult," he said, "we must be able to repel it; if we desire to secure peace, one of the most powerful instruments of our rising prosperity, it must be known that we are at all times ready for war."

Universal military training and service is the only system which is purely democratic. Thomas Jefferson, recognized as the founder and patron-saint of the Democratic party, emphasized this point of view. "We must train and classify the whole of our male citizens," he wrote to Monroe in 1813, after he had learned the lesson of unpreparedness in the War of 1812, "and make military instruction a regular part of collegiate education. We can never be safe till this is done." In 1814, he went still further and declared that it was an obvious truth "that we cannot be defended, but by making every citizen a soldier and that in doing this, all must be marshalled, called by their ages, and every service ascribed to its competent class."

James Madison, a follower of Jefferson, urged in his message to Congress on December 3, 1816, the organization of a militia,

which would include practically every physically fit male in the republic, while James Monroe, in a message to Congress in 1822, urged the American people as a special duty "to be at all times prepared to defend the rights with which they are blessed and to surpass all others in sustaining the necessary burdens and in submitting to sacrifices to make such preparations."

Any unprejudiced reader of American history must realize that if the counsel of the fathers of our country had been followed a century ago, we would have been saved unnecessary sacrifice of lives and money. In all of our wars the flower of our citizenship has paid the penalty of inexperience and unfitness. We have been victorious, but at tremendous cost. In the revolutionary war, when our forces numbered 395,000 as against 150,000 of the enemy; in the War of 1812, when we had 350,000 men enrolled, with only 57,000 against us; and when in the war with Mexico we had twice as many men in the field as the Mexicans, we were taught an experience which did not profit us. Even though we have never fought a first-class power, throwing its full resources into the opposing balance, we have never been able to win except by putting armies into the field greatly in excess of the other side.

It is not necessary, however, to rest our case for universal military training and service upon our own history. Switzerland at the present day affords an object lesson which we would do well to heed. The question came before the Swiss people in the form of a referendum upon the occasion of the adoption of the federal constitution in 1848, and by a popular vote of 170,000 to 70,000 the Swiss people decided that "every Swiss is open to do military service." It is safe to say that today not one vote would be cast in Switzerland against the system which has been in vogue there nearly seventy years. Everyone knows that if it had not been for the demonstration of the instant ability of the Swiss people to defend their territorial integrity the German army would have sought entrance into France through Switzerland. The Swiss army is enrolled for defense, not for offense; and every student of the Swiss army agrees that the Swiss system is the living refutation of the charge that military training hurts good citizenship. The Swiss is, above all things, a free man, and there is no taint of militarism in his nation. The trouble is, however, as was pointed out sixteen years ago in a report submitted by Lieut. Col. William Cary Sanger, that "universal mili-

tary service still remains a theory with us, but in Switzerland it is real and actual."

Side by side with Switzerland in the adoption of compulsory military training stands Australia. Emphatic evidence of the success of the system in that country is found in the address of Hon. William H. Hughes, prime minister of the Commonwealth of Australia, at Ottawa, February 19, 1916, in which he said:

"It had been very well for us and very well for mankind if Britain had prepared as well by land as by sea. If she had done that there would have been no war today. And this I say—and it is all that I shall say on this point—that Australia has been able to do what she has done because we have adopted as the corner stone of our democratic edifice the system of compulsory military training. We believe that there is but one way by which a nation being free, can remain so, and that is that every man shall not only be willing to defend his country, but be able to do so. And we think that if it is right, as it surely is, that a democracy should educate its citizens so that the franchise shall be wisely exercised for government by the many, if the many are not educated, is a doubtful good. So we think that the state should train the citizen so that he may be able to defend his country, his home, and his liberties."

On the other hand, England, having failed to adopt a system whereby its people would be ready to meet danger, has paid a terrible penalty. For more than a decade farsighted men in England have been pointing out that no provision was being made to train English citizenry so as to be available for defense. Possibly the futility of these appeals was largely due to the belief that the island was protected from invasion by the strength of the navy and that no conflict was possible which would involve English people. Events have proven, however, that this point of view was entirely false. It is now a matter of history that when universal war was declared on the Continent, England was able to send only a very few soldiers, comparatively speaking, to oppose the onward march of the German army through Belgium into France. It called upon its colonial dependencies for help and then, after the war had begun, undertook to train and equip 4,000,000 of its citizens.

It was nine months or a year before Lord Kitchener felt that his men were in condition to be sent against the trained veterans of the enemy, and the result was that all attempts to check the

onward advances of the German forces were at first futile. The United States would undergo a similar experience if today a hostile army should land upon its coast or cross its borders. The men who would instantly volunteer to save their country would be utterly unprepared, not only physically but in the essential of necessary training and equipment. Untrained millions are nothing but an untrained mob. It is a matter of education to bring the American people to a realization of this fact.

The Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America, an organization composed of more than a thousand commercial bodies, at its recent annual convention recommended a resolution in the following language:

"The committee, recognizing the military obligation equally with the civic obligation as a fundamental duty of democratic citizenship in a republic, and to establish a system which will affect every man alike, recommends that universal military training be adopted as a fundamental democratic principle of our military policy, and be enforced by law to furnish adequate land, sea, and industrial forces in peace and war."

This resolution was submitted to the constituent bodies and was adopted, after thorough discussion, by the surprisingly large vote of 889 to 56.

Another indication of the growth of public sentiment was evidenced at the banquet of the Merchants' Association of New York City, when tremendous applause followed the statement of Senator O'Gorman, of New York, that compulsory training is the one indispensable thing we should have in this country.

It is noteworthy that many magazines which admittedly reflect the intelligence of the country are advocating universal military training. This is particularly true of Everybody's Magazine, while the Century Magazine says that it is the only purely democratic system of national defense and the ideal goal at which a self-respecting democracy must aim. The Ladies' Home Journal, which goes into 2,000,000 homes, editorially admits the futility of the volunteer service and urges military training for every boy in the land as the real essence of preparedness. Physicians also recognize the physical value of military training, as shown by the fact that the American Medico-Psychological Association, in convention in New Orleans on April 16, 1916, strongly recommended universal military training and urged legislation enforcing it because it "promotes in the individual strength of muscular and

bony tissues, improves organic functions, quickens perception, furnishes discipline in self-control, inculcates obedience, and creates respect for authority."

As for individual indorsements, pages might be filled with utterances of men recognized as leaders. Space allows only the following:

Theodore Roosevelt: "I believe in universal service based upon universal training. I believe in this because I think it would be not only of incalculable benefit to the nation in the event of war, but of incalculable benefit to the individuals undergoing it, and therefore to the nation as a whole as regards the work of peace. The military tent, where boys sleep side by side, will rank next to the public school among the great agents of democracy."

Robert Bacon, former Secretary of State (after his recent visit to the Mexican border): "I am more than ever convinced that there is but one satisfactory solution for military preparedness of the nation, in fact, for the maintenance and endurance of the nation itself in a high place in the affairs of the world, and that is universal service—the spirit of service and sacrifice for the nation. Unless we learn to speak in terms of a nation, and subordinate our local and material ambitions; unless the nation, in claiming its international rights, learns to appreciate its duties and international obligations, the nation cannot endure as one of the respected members of the society of nations.

"There has been a great change in sentiment and opinion about universal service. Everywhere that I have been—in New England, the Middle States, the Mississippi Valley, the South, and the great Southwest, as far as Arizona—I have found but one opinion: That universal service for the nation, whether it be enrollment for the military or for broader work of industrial efficiency for national purpose, is the only democratic principle of national life, and only by such service can we obtain justice and equality for all citizens of the great community. These are the undoubted facts, which have been emphasized by the lessons of this great world war, and which are proved beyond a question to the mind of anyone who is brought in close contact with the army now encamped along our border, both regulars and militia."

John Grier Hibben, president of Princeton University: "As citizens of this great republic we must realize that patriotism has come to have deeper meaning, namely, recognition of personal obligation to one's country and readiness for sacrifice."

Newton D. Baker, Secretary of War: "I cannot believe that I have the right to expect another man to defend my home and my family, if I am unwilling to defend them myself. It is essentially a democratic principle that every citizen should be willing to contribute his personal service to the common defense."

Gen Leonard Wood: "The volunteer system has never succeeded and never will. The only true ideal is obligatory military service. Manhood suffrage and manhood service must go together."

Hon. James W. Wadsworth, United States Senator from New York: "We send our children to school so that they may fit themselves to combat forces of ignorance and vice, which if allowed unrestrained within our borders, would soon destroy the republic. Is it not likewise the duty of a true democracy to train its young men to combat successfully those forces which may attack its institutions from without?"

Cardinal Gibbons: "I believe in preparedness and in compulsory military service for all men of the nation. Compulsory service is the best means to preparedness."

Samuel Gompers, president American Federation of Labor: "We must have a preparation that means a comprehensive development of all the powers and resources of all our citizens. In Switzerland every man is a soldier—not necessarily to go to war, but he has the physical and manual training necessary to defend himself, his family, and his country. Under that system the Swiss have developed a manhood, a character, that challenges the admiration of the world. We will be satisfied with nothing less in America."

John Purroy Mitchel, mayor of New York City: "I believe in universal male military training after the plan of Switzerland or Australia. I believe that the American people must and will come to this sooner or later. I pray that they may adopt it before national disaster and not after."

Henry L. Stimson, former Secretary of War: "This problem of national defense will never be permanently solved until it is distributed among the whole people by some system of universal liability to military training."

These expressions of thoughtful, experienced, and patriotic men should carry conviction to every mind. The first step toward legislation has already been taken through the introduction of a bill proposing a system of universal military training and service by Senator Chamberlain, of Oregon, chairman of the Senate Com-

mittee on Military Affairs. It is not necessary to present the details of this measure beyond stating that they provide for three classes, to be known as the "citizens' cadet corps," between twelve and seventeen years of age, inclusive; the "citizens' army," between eighteen and twenty-three years of age, inclusive; and the "citizens' army reserve," of persons twenty-four years of age and over, and that the training for the members of the citizen army is to be not less than 120 hours, or twenty whole days, for six years, and not less than ten whole days in camp of continuous training. The bill has not been pressed for passage because the necessity for its enactment is not yet fully appreciated.

The American people must, however, eventually realize that in universal military training and service lies the only safeguard for the nation.

WHEN MILITARY TRAINING SHOULD BEGIN[1]

The plan offered to Congress by former Secretary Garrison, with the President's endorsement, proposed to organize and maintain an army of "home defenders" by means of two months' service annually, taking from their employment men of early and mature years, whose habits have been formed, to make amateur soldiers of them.

The familiar records of experimental tests show that men of those years have lost sixty per cent of their mental and physical plasticity. They can learn soldiering perfectly no more than they could learn, after they were fifty years old, to spar and to play cricket. The attempt can result only in a lame apology for a real army of emergency.

The age for making the fundamental impressions required as the essentials for military service is between fourteen and eighteen years.

Germany with its well-nigh overwhelming demonstration of efficiency, lays the foundation for its industrial as well as its military prowess on just this line; her psychologists are constantly called into consultation by the imperial government.

Eminently peaceful Switzerland, girdled by dangers and the one little nation of Europe with which even Germany is chary of meddling, trains its boyhood on precisely this line.

[1] By J. Madison Taylor, Mind and Body. 23: 51-2. April, 1916.

Why should not the United States employ the means which have so well served the uses of two such radically different peoples, when these means promise a vastly larger measure of fundamental military preparedness than we now plan, together with the very ideal of industrial and economic efficiency for which we have today such an imperative need?

Our public school system lacks totally the German capsheaf of combined motor and mental training. Now, the essentials of military fitness like the essentials of industrial adaptability, are these:

Instinctive obedience, which American boys notoriously lack.

Graded **responsibilities, which** can come only through a uniform training in obedience.

Mass action, or cooperation, first in small groups, then in large bodies.

Individual adaptability, fitting the youth to acquire readily the special skill called for in any means of livelihood and in any special emergency of military need, and also providing a capacity for sustained endurance.

All of these qualifications can be secured for practically all of the youth of the United States by affording them the opportunity, at the right age, to receive a combined mental and physical training, the purpose of which need not even be so specifically military as to foster the warlike spirit.

Indeed, the concrete features of such a training can be entirely peaceful and along lines that make for industrial efficiency.

Such a training can be had in the form of a summer vacation camp lasting the two months stipulated by Secretary Garrison and continuing for three years after the boy has passed his thirteenth year.

It should include surveying, engineering, road building, taking care of one's self in the open, on land and water, scouting, tracking animals and men, and first aid to the injured.

It might provide also opportunity to acquire skill in certain crafts, such as marine, mechanical and electrical engineering, simple construction in iron, wood and other materials, use of the wireless, cooking, fire-making and fire prevention.

These are the activities of peace, rather than of war; yet in any such vacation camp, carrying on their study and practice, the habit of obedience would become fixed and acceptable.

There need be not the slightest impairment of the native American spirit of individual independence; yet the coordinating

discipline, which we conspicuously lack in the arts of peace, would be instilled and would raise the index of our efficiency in every department of our national life. The system would produce much better home makers as well as home defenders.

From the purely military standpoint it would give to this country an unconquerable citizen body, a manhood composed of really potential soldiers and sailors who would require, instead of the year our own McClellan and Britain's Kitchener found needful to make a soldier, no more than one month of specific training to take the field as an army.

COLLEGE HEADS ON MILITARY TRAINING[1]

Of twenty-seven college and university heads who sent letters to the New York Times on the subject of students' military training two-thirds favored martial education for students. The collection of these views followed the suggestion of President Hibben, of Princeton, for the training of college men in the science of war. In opposing such training, Dean F. S. Keppel, of Columbia University, New York, says that "we should pay a very high price for our 'preparedness' if by agitation at the present moment we should lose the confidence of Europe in our sincerity and disinterestedness, and with it the weight of our influence in making sure that the terms of the coming peace do not, as they have so often in the past, contain the seeds for new suspicions, hatreds, defensive preparations and ultimate wars."

In the face of such naïveté and innocence of trust in the world-wide influence of the United States, it would seem useless to make any argument whatever. When a man can believe that the conditions of the peace that will conclude this war will be based upon what the United States does or does not think of them, he is living in a palace of happy dreams from which it would be rude to awaken him. The influence of the United States in the determination of the conditions of the peace will have no potency whatever. Peace will be concluded on terms to be settled by the Europeans themselves. After fighting the greatest war known to history, it is not likely that those who have suffered the tremendous costs of the conflict are going to permit their demands on the defeated to be affected in the slightest by

[1] Editorial. Army and Navy Journal. 52: 681. January 30, 1915.

the opinions of the United States. Any such concession to the United States, an idle spectator, would be the height of absurdity. The United States cannot make sure that the coming peace will "not contain seeds for new suspicions" no matter whether it has an adequate military establishment or not. These seeds are coexistent with human change. They will cease to come to the surface only when the progress of the human race shall stop. Longfellow's words, "New occasions teach new duties," may be amplified to read, "New occasions breed new suspicions."

Our recent history, even with a negligible army, has not been such as to lead the world to believe we are opposed to all military methods of asserting our rights. Only fifty years separate us from our great Civil War, only sixteen from the Spanish-American War, and not a year has yet passed since our armed forces seized the chief port of Mexico, a proceeding not unattended with bloodshed. The idea that we must keep our army and navy down to the minimum lest we destroy our ability to shape the next peace treaty along the lines of American international righteousness represents a holier-than-thou attitude on the part of some mis-educated Americans that can find no warrant for existence in our past history nor in our present tendencies, commercial, political or sociological. If the expansion of our army and navy shall do nothing else than to send into deserved eclipse such views as those of Dean Keppel, who is the mere echo of President Butler, of Columbia, it will have started the republic on the proper road of self-appraisement and self-knowledge. This nation, if it should listen to such dreamers as Dean Keppel and President Butler, would soon become stoop-shouldered under its own load of righteousness. It will be a splendid day for the United States if the present wide discussion of the needs of military preparedness shall make us understand that we are precisely of the same human clay as other peoples and must work out our domestic and international problems along the lines of the world in general, and not with some moral hocus-pocus which has been granted to us by a special dispensation.

It is gratifying to note that in opposition to such views as those of the Columbia dean are to be found among others the opinions of President Goodnow, of Johns Hopkins; President Cavanagh, of Notre Dame; President Sparks, of the Pennsylvania State College; President Aley, of the University of Maine; President Stone, of Purdue; President Matheson, of the Atlanta

School of Technology; President James, of the University of Illinois; President Avery, of the University of Nebraska; Chancellor McCormick, of the University of Pittsburgh; President Worst, of the North Dakota Agricultural College; President Ellis, of the University of Ohio, and President Schurman, of Cornell.

There is one expression in this collection of views that is worth inquiring into. President S. P. Brooks, of the Baylor University, Waco, Texas, says that his institution years ago had a military department which was abandoned because "we did not think the good overcame the bad." In sharp contrast to the claim of Mr. Brooks is the statement of President Ellis, of the Ohio University, that if "I could have my way military training would be a compulsory part of the education of every male student not physically incapacitated for such exercise," while President McBride, of the University of Iowa, says: "We have maintained military training, under charge of an officer of the regular army detailed by the war department, and have found it very serviceable in many ways for forty years." President Schurman, while disavowing all sympathy with an aggressive policy toward other nations, says: "I am a firm believer in the intrinsic value of military training even apart from its utility to the public in time of war." President Schurman knows what he is commending, as Cornell is one of sixty-five universities and colleges which prescribe military training for the students. Evidently he is not aware of those evil features of which the Texas president speaks.

A CITIZEN RESERVE[1]

The recent establishment of two or three summer camps for college students is justified from the standpoint of arousing interest and creating a public opinion, but if relied upon to produce trained men for the ranks, or qualified aspirants for command, they will bring disappointment, because from the very nature of our needs the results of the camps must be insignificant. A few of the larger colleges and universities have for years been turning out well-drilled young men from their cadet corps, who constitute splendid material for officers and non-commissioned officers of the proposed reserve of federal volunteers.

[1] From "The American army," p. 113-14, by William Harding Carter. Bobbs-Merrill. 1915.

When we consider the ages attributed to upwards of two million of the young men who fought in the Civil War, it would seem that without turning ourselves into a nation-in-arms we could safely give encouragement to the extension of the military departments already existing in schools and universities, and the establishment of a government school in every state for the education and military training of young men as officers of volunteers. It should be borne in mind at all times that training our boys and young men in sanitation, military exercises and marksmanship does not in the least subject the nation to a just charge of so-called militarism, for such instruction is for the purpose of fitting them physically and technically for the arduous duties of a soldier's life. Without such training, they more readily fall victims of preventable diseases. If never called to serve in war, their training is not lost, for through it, they have become more valuable citizens in their several communities.

MILITARY TRAINING IN COLLEGES[1]

Had Kipling's "Army of a Dream" been rather an army of reality, had England some twelve years ago adopted a system of compulsory military instruction in all schools and colleges, had Eton and Oxford known then, as they have since, the voice of military command and the challenge of the sentinel, it is doubtful whether Germany would have thrown her troops across Luxemburg in the summer of 1914. For Britain had no trained reserve behind the regular establishment and militia, nor even a source from which to draw reserve officers.

A similar situation confronts the American people. We must have a trained reserve, and especially must we maintain a corps of reserve officers. Let us consider the part which the colleges and universities of the country should play in supplying these reserve officers.

In compliance with the terms of the Morrill Land Grant Act of 1862, and subsequent acts, state colleges of agriculture and the mechanical arts must give instruction in military science to become beneficiaries of the federal endowment. There are at present considerably over fifty of such institutions, giving some form of military training to nearly thirty thousand young men. The

[1] By Charles Fairman. American Defense. 1: 310, 316. September, 1916.

majority of these colleges and universities, such as Cornell, Illinois, Wisconsin and California, are distinctly civil institutions. Practical military instruction, or "drill," is given for three or four hours a week, and theoretical instruction, mostly in drill regulations, is given a small allowance of time. The purpose of this instruction, be it noted, is not to produce trained soldiers, but to produce men who could creditably serve as company officers in time of war. The cadet organizations vary in size from a single battalion in the smaller colleges to a brigade in the larger universities. One officer from the regular army is allotted to practically all of these schools, where he generally serves as both professor of military science and commandant of cadets. It is possible in the smaller institutions for one officer to carry out the duties of these two offices. But in institutions with over four hundred cadets it is obviously impossible to give adequate personal instruction to all the students and to take active command of the corps while at drill. Now there is nothing to prevent the institution from employing a staff of retired officers, National Guard officers, and capable graduates of military institutions to aid the commandant in practical and theoretical instruction. But the cost would have to be borne by the institution. And so the institution assumes the attitude that the War Department has sent one officer, and that, when it desires more thorough instruction, it will send more officers (which the existing law prevents) and here the matter rests. In the meantime the instruction is given by the senior cadet officers, who receive a small salary for their services.

The practical training consists largely of close order drill, with some exercises in extended order and deployment. The purpose of the former is to inculcate precision, and unhesitating obedience on the part of the cadet, while the latter is calculated to teach the mechanism of deployment for battle and the principles of minor tactics. To accomplish these ends discipline during drill periods must be strict. Students who are not inclined to stand at attention during close order drill, and who have no respect for constituted authority, must by means of rigid discipline be compelled to conform to regulations. They must be taught that it is perfectly manly to refrain from conversation from "Fall in" to "Rest;" to salute officers and the national colors; to have the shoes properly polished for inspection; to receive corrections without comment; and all this without regard as to whether they are being watched or not. When this lesson

is learned, the student is just past the A-B-C stage of military training. Applied minor tactics, camp sanitation, map sketching, elementary principles of field engineering, marksmanship, and the qualities of initiative and leadership must be learned and acquired later. Still, the fundamental idea of discipline is a basis for further instruction.

But experience has clearly shown that it is impossible to maintain such a standard of discipline where one army officer has the task of instructing five hundred, a thousand, and sometimes as many as two thousand student-cadets. And to assign the command of battalions, regiments and brigades to student officers results in inefficient training. Military training, like instruction in Latin or mathematics, requires the careful supervision of a thoroughly capable and experienced staff of instructors. But few student officers can be of this caliber, and the system which assigns them as the instructors in military science should be expected to produce no more thorough results than would be accomplished in a university Latin department whose instructors were senior students. Soldier-craft is not an emotion, a matter of will or desire, but a science, a profession which in time of national peril becomes the most respected of all vocations. And the instruction of students who are expected to have the capacity for command in time of war should not devolve upon college seniors, but should be intrusted to officers of experience.

We have, in brief, within the land grant colleges of America, the latent possibility of a remarkable asset of national defense. To make this instruction efficient and tangible, a number of reforms must be introduced:

1. The existing law which fixes the number of active officers detailed to military schools and colleges at one hundred should be revised to authorize the detail of one officer, active or retired, for every four hundred students in the military department of each land grant college.

2. The federal government should have more direct and arbitrary control over the several college military departments. The courses of instruction should be uniform and as thorough as possible. A means should be devised by which the graduates might be kept more closely within the reach of the war department. When a federal reserve army is authorized, these men should be assigned to it as company officers and non-commissioned officers, according to their abilities.

3. When, under these reforms, the military education given

in land grant colleges is found to have become a tangible asset to national defense, the government should assume still more responsibility. It would then be proper that these corps of student-cadets be uniformed by the federal government. Field equipment, such as tents and intrenching tools, should be issued, and a period of ten days or more in camp at the government's expense should be authorized.

To the lay brother this may appear as an extravagant school picnic, or a costly jingo propaganda. But when we consider the results which would accrue in time of peace, in the conceptions of duty, honor, and patriotism which it would foster, and preeminently the fruits which it would bear in time of war, we must agree that the military departments of state colleges will amply repay any efforts which Congress and the War Department may direct toward them. The question reverts to the proverb, "Anything worth doing at all is worth doing well." Military instruction in land grant colleges has, in more or less inefficient way, been given for nearly fifty years. This is a plea to make the instruction more thorough, to vitalize an institution of so great potentiality for national defense. Two years ago a proposal to make military training a pre-requisite for graduation from an English university would have been hooted; today it is seriously advocated as a measure for the future defense of the realm. But war has already come upon England. Let us, then, take heed, and while America is aroused to the greatest issue since the Civil War, let us write into her bill for national defense a provision for the advancement of military training in the land grant colleges of America.

MILITARY SERVICE FOR COLLEGE MEN[1]

Nearly every college man asks himself as June approaches: "What shall I do this summer?" And his parents are asking themselves: "What shall we do with our boy this summer?"

The rich student will probably spend the summer in pursuit of pleasure. The poor student who has to work his way through college will spend his vacation at the most remunerative labor obtainable. How about the student of average means, who has

[1] By Stephen M. Foote, Lieut.-Col. U. S. Army. Military Service Institution. Journal. 49: 317-19. November-December, 1911.

to be careful of his expenses, whose parents have to make some sacrifices in sending him to college? He is the young man whose summer vacation causes more anxious thought than the whole college year.

The government might afford a solution of this problem by offering annually a three months' enlistment in the regular army for the period of July, August and September. The enlistment to be spent in camp. The requirements for enlistment to be American citizenship, good moral character and ability to pass a rigid physical examination. Allowances and pay to be board, clothing, medical attendance if necessary and $15 cash per month. Instruction for two months to be recruit drill, the last month to be a specific course in target practice and field work. At the expiration of the term of enlistment each man to be regularly discharged, the discharge certificate to show his character and the degree of proficiency he has attained in the various military exercises.

The idea would be to enlist small companies of about fifty men each and attach each company to a regular company of cavalry, artillery or infantry at the most convenient army post or camp. This would admit of men selecting their own companions if they so desired and presenting themselves for enlistment by companies.

The army would be able to handle about 20,000 men for the summer. There are about 200,000 male students in the universities, colleges and technological schools of the United States. In order to spread the opportunities of the summer military course over the whole country there would be required one student company from each Congressional district. (The Congressional districts are the only territorial divisions in the United States about equal in population. Counting the 433 districts provided by the reapportionment on the 1910 census, and adding two for the District of Columbia, two for New Mexico and one for Arizona, gives 438 districts. At the rate of one company of about fifty from each gives about 21,900. With the provision that a company should not exceed fifty, the maximum number of enlistments under this restriction would probably not reach 20,000.)

The ages of enlistment would be from eighteen to twenty-five, and any man wishing to re-enlist in subsequent years between these ages should be allowed to do so.

In our military system the regular army and organized militia

form the first line of land defense. But in a great war we should have to depend on volunteers to make up the bulk of our armies. At the beginning of a war there are always plenty of volunteers. The trouble always is to get trained officers and non-commissioned officers.

And right here let it be said that this tour of duty of three months is not to be imagined as in any way sufficient to make a man a trained soldier. But he can learn the recruit drill and by re-enlisting several times can become proficient in all the essential duties of a soldier that can be taught in time of peace. A good many might become non-commissioned officers in subsequent enlistments, and of these some would qualify for commissions as company officers of volunteers.

If the scheme of three months' enlistment works out successfully along the lines above indicated it can readily be seen that in time there will be a sufficient number of partially trained men to furnish corporals, sergeants, lieutenants and captains for a large force of volunteers, say, one regiment from each district.

MILITARY TRAINING FOR STUDENTS[1]

Dr. Andrew D. White, president-emeritus of Cornell University, in a letter to the alumni of New York City, which was read on Founders' Day, made a special appeal for military preparedness and for the realization by college men of their own obligations in this matter. "It is now fifty years since preparations were making for opening Cornell University, and among the questions which then arose was that of providing for military instruction," he said. "Though I had always been and still am a devoted adherent of a national policy which makes for peace, it seemed to me that there was involved a duty to the nation which had given us our charter and so liberally provided for our endowment. It seems to me that the whole history of the university thus far has proved that our policy then adopted was wise and good.

"The state of New York has now given to Cornell a new armory and drill hall—one of the largest and best equipped in the United States. This will enable the university to keep in training two full regiments at a time. In this I rejoice, not because

[1] Army and Navy Journal. 53: 659. January 22, 1916.

of any tendency on my part toward what is called 'militarism,' but because it seems to me part of a policy sure to be found wise in the whole future of our country, and I wish that other universities of the land might have the same facilities and provide the same thing.

"I have learned in the public service, in various countries, and especially in those prominent in the wars now going on, that they have little respect for displays of fine sentiment, and that, with them, the prime question is and will be for many years to come, whether the nations on which they wish to work their will are strong enough to make it dangerous for them to do so."

Major-Gen. Leonard Wood, U. S. A., urged military training of students and it was announced that $10,000 had been given by Willard D. Straight, of New York, for the maintenance of a summer camp for the Cornell cadet corps. It is understood that additional gifts for this purpose are in sight. Mr. Straight's gift, it is said, is the first ever made to a university for a military purpose. At least 600 cadets are to be accommodated at the camp. "I know of no country," said General Wood, "certainly none among the great nations, where military education is more needed in schools and colleges than in the United States. There is no subject concerning which our people, taken as a whole, are more ignorant than of our military history and policy or lack of policy."

WHAT SHALL WE DO FOR OUR BOYS?[1]

It is probable that never in the history of the world has there been such a searching of the conscience as may now be perceived on every side. The habit of closing our eyes to things disagreeable, of shirking a plain duty, has become so ingrained as almost to form part of the national character. Had it not been for the convulsion racking Europe, its throes affecting all Christendom and arousing even us Americans to thought and action, we should doubtless have continued to jog along the easy road of careless indifference, ignoring the vital issues now forced upon our attention and thanking God, in our happy-go-lucky fashion, that, while things might be better, they are no worse. Suddenly the whole mental atmosphere has changed and we are aroused to

[1] By Rear-Admiral Caspar F. Goodrich. American Review of Reviews. 53: 570-2. May, 1916.

the necessity of dealing with problems more fundamental and more far-reaching than any in our previous experience, saving only those of 1776 and 1861.

To a number of thoughtful persons, a question has presented itself in somewhat this shape, "Are we doing all we ought to do for the American boy?" If not, what more should be done?

Let us consider dispassionately the average American boy and try to describe him. I do not mean, O Reader, *your* boy. I mean the average boy, as we see him in the city streets or the country roads. Am I far wrong in depicting him physically as round-shouldered, hollow-chested, shambling in gait, not overtidy in person, not erect in carriage, not looking you straight in the eye?

In manner is he courteous to all, respectful to his seniors, careful in speech? Does it not strike you that his ideal of manliness is rather the "tough" than the well-bred gentleman?

Is he obedient and tender to his parents, thoughtful and kind to the weak and aged, helpful to his associates?

What are his ambitions? To begin at the foot of the ladder and by hard work climb to the top? Does he hold manual labor in itself as ennobling and as alone giving that knowledge of what a day's work means by which later he can intelligently direct the energies of a host of subordinates? Does he not rather leave the high school with a contempt for honest toil, and the fixed purpose of never soiling his own hands? Does he not look upon a clerical position with the wearing of a black coat and a white shirt as the best thing life holds for him?

There has recently appeared in the public prints a letter from a man of foreign birth, who points to the fact that the immigrant of yesterday, with no capital other than his intelligence and his willingness to work hard and long, is today at the head of the department store or other great establishment, amassing a huge fortune, and employing in a host of inferior capacities Americans, graduates of our high and grammar schools. The pride with which this statement is made is thoroughly justifiable and should be shared by the American-born, at least in so far as it speaks for the boundless chances open to all in this free land of ours. On the other hand, ought not the circumstance that the alien can push ahead of our own boys, reaching command rank, while they remain mere privates in the industrial army, shake a little our complacent trust that our system of public education is too good to need revision?

It is hopeless to look to our schools for the inculcation of manly habits and a respect for labor and equally hopeless to expect the average home to effect an improvement in manners. Can no means be devised for supplying these deficiencies?

To the writer the time seems ripe for just such a new departure. Briefly, he proposes universal military *training,* not *service,* be it understood. On the first of July of each year, he would send every American boy, eighteen years old, either to a camp or on board a battleship and keep him for one year under military or naval discipline, to be taught cleanliness, care of his person, implicit, prompt obedience, self-respect, respect for his seniors, good habits, sturdy truthfulness, the sense of duty at all cost, patriotism, reverence for the flag. Ashore the boy should be taught camping, marching, target practise, trenching, scouting, the use of weapons, etc.; afloat the rudiments of the man-of-wars-man's trade. Those backward in their studies might receive enough schooling to enable them to pass a very simple examination in the three "R's" plus a slight knowledge of America's history that its more important events and the deeds of our great men be not forgotten. From this training none physically capable should be exempt. Rich and poor, high and low, all should pass through this grand school. As against the possible cry that "My boy cannot be spared" it is urged that every citizen owes something to his country, that all service implies sacrifice and that, in this instance, the sacrifice is small while the gain is immense.

Naturally, as the government would be giving something of incalculable value, there could be no compensation. It would house, clothe, and feed the lads and possibly give them a small allowance "for stationery and postage"—say a dollar a month. At the end of the year all would return to their homes, improved mentally, morally, physically, their productive efficiency enhanced beyond calculation. This is no theory but a demonstrated fact. In addition, they would carry away and disseminate an ideal of citizenship and civic duty now sadly lacking. One year is the minimum time required for military training and the maximum time the youth of the land can well be taken from vocational and educational life.

The period I name is that when the lad can best be spared. He has, presumably, just left the high school. He has not taken up his life work or entered college. It is also the critical time in every boy's existence. It is then, if ever, that he passes

through the stage of the tough and develops into the gangster. Our reform schools and penitentiaries are recruited largely from lads of about this age.

Under the eye of his ship's captain, his company commander and that of his sergeant it will be almost impossible for him to fall under the influence of evil associates. His superiors will see well to this.

By the last census, there were in this country about 900,000 boys, eighteen years of age, of all kinds of American parentage. Allowing a liberal deduction for incapables, some 700,000 could go through this training each year to graduate as fine, healthy, robust, upstanding chaps whom any employer would be glad to engage.

And the democracy of it! No snobbery tolerated, all equal and each on his own merits. It thrills one to visualize the picture.

Naturally, our present standing army would largely disappear, for most of its members would become instructors. A vastly greater number of officers would also be needed.

I urge some such scheme, for its incomparable value as a school of patriotism and good citizenship. Incidentally, it would build up, at insignificant cost, an army, active and reserve, to be counted by the million. It would make no substantial drain upon the industries of the country, while it would enormously increase the economic worth of every man. Its military advantage is but a by-product.

All my life I have been a consistent advocate of peace at any cost, except the national honor. I would not favor any such scheme if it tended to breed a spirit of militarism, but I do advocate it strongly on educational and sociological grounds.

It is well known that recruits in the marine corps expand so much about the chest, in the arms and legs, that, quite generally, larger uniforms have to be provided after only three months' service. Doubtless the army quartermasters have the same experience, for the same causes exist in all, viz., regular hours, physical culture, plenty of good food, and an outdoor life.

The cost would not be excessive, and in comparison with that of a standing army large enough to provide absolute protection might almost be called negligible. Roughly speaking, to maintain every soldier in our army requires the expenditure of $1,000 per annum, while the man is drawn from productive occupations

during the whole period of his enlistment. The money spent on the boy trained in citizenship after the manner sketched herein would be returned to the country many times over through his improvement in every respect, an improvement which is beyond challenge because abundantly proved already in Switzerland, Australia, and New Zealand, not to mention other countries which might be cited.

There is no doubt that the immediate future looms big with menacing possibilities, to meet which our best thought and effort should be directed. If anyone can bring forward a method by which the decisive results may be achieved at lower cost, with less dislocation of our industrial life, or with greater benefit to the American boy and the American nation, I shall be more than happy to accept it as a substitute for what is here outlined, which, having purely a defensive object and being fundamentally educational in character, meets the objections that may be urged against a large regular army and so should receive the approval of the most ardent pacifist.

MILITARY INSTRUCTION IN SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES[1]

A military drill develops the whole man, head, chest, arms, and legs, proportionately; and so promotes symmetry, and corrects the excesses of other forms of exercise. It teaches quickness of eye and ear, hand and foot; qualifies men to step and act in unison; teaches subordination; and, best of all, qualifies a man to serve his country. The flag now generally floats above the school-house; and what more appropriate than that the boys should be instructed in the defense of it? It will not lower their grade-marks in their book recitations, I am sure. If rightly used, it will wake them up, make them more healthy, develop their pride, and promote school order.

If all the school-boys of the North had, from 1830 on, been instructed in the schools of the soldier and of the company, and in the manual of arms, how much precious time would have been saved in organizing the Union army in 1861. We were in a very low state, as a people, in military knowledge and train-

[1] By Benjamin Harrison. Century. 47: 368-9. January, 1894. Also in his "Views of an ex-President," p. 367-70. Bobbs-Merrill Co. 1901.

ing when the great civil war broke out. Volunteers in plenty, but few soldiers. I very well remember how hard it was for me to learn which was the right of the company, and to understand why it continued to be the right when the right about had made it the left; and how we had, in 1862, to send to a distant city to find a drillmaster competent to instruct the company officers, not one of whom could go through the manual of arms; and how the regiment, after a few half-learned lessons in the company drill, was sent to the seat of war with guns which they had never loaded or fired. Fortunately, the men had the American adaptability and quickness, and our adversary only a little better preparation. It will not be safe to allow war to come upon us again in that state, for war's pace has greatly quickened, and the arms of precision now in use call for a trained soldier. Under our system we will never have a large standing army, and our strength and safety are in a general dissemination of military knowledge and training among the people. What the man and citizen ought to know in order to the full discharge of his duty to his country should be imparted to the boy. Nothing will so much aid to enlarge our State militia, and to give it efficiency and character, as the plan proposed. The military taste and training acquired in the school will carry our best young men into the militia organizations, and make those organizations reliable conservators of public order, and ready and competent defenders of the national honor.

PROPER TRAINING FOR SCHOOLBOYS[1]

Dr. C. Ward Crampton, Director of Physical Training in the New York Public Schools, informs us that the small attendance of boys of the high schools at the parade tendered to them by the 7th Regiment is to be explained by "the astonishing apathy of the high school boy, which up to this time has not been generally recognized." Dr. Crampton says:

"Few know about the National Guard; fewer still realize their duties as prospective citizens. This is a state of affairs which was unsuspected.

"I believe soldiers are best made as follows: Conservation of infant life and the application of the science of genetics.

[1] Army and Navy Journal. 53: 691-2. January 29, 1916.

Thorough and complete appropriate physical training and athletics throughout the eight years of the elementary school course. At the time below the age of fourteen years children should be given the elements of military drill, brief but definitely, as a part of their regular physical training, covering the elements of the school of the soldier. There should be no uniforms and there should be no attempt to make the child believe he is a soldier; only men can be such.

"During the high school age, from fourteen to eighteen years, whether the boy is in high school or not, he should have vigorous physical training; good military drill to make him perfect as to the school of the soldier. He should have athletics to the greatest extent of his ability. Furthermore, he should go through the whole program of the Boy Scouts of America and learn all 'out of doors,' for most of the soldier's work is out of doors, and not in gymnasiums. If I can put all boys through this program and turn them over to federal or state authorities vigorous, hardy, alert, erect, familiar with elementary tactics, inured to work afield and instructed in the principles of hygiene, I will feel that the schools have done the major part of their duty. I should like, in addition, to put every boy in his seventeenth or eighteenth year under canvas for thirty days under Federal control.

"From this point on it remains for some competent authorities to devise a permanent plan of specific, definite and complete military training which shall meet to perfection the present and future needs of our United States of America.

"Much remains to be done to bring the program for the first eighteen years to completion. Not more than twenty per cent of the high school boys throughout the country get physical training in any way comparable to that shown in the 7th Regiment review. Not sixty per cent of the twenty million elementary school children receive physical exercise. Athletics are seldom found in elementary schools, and where found in the high schools ninety per cent of the boys indulge vicariously only. No wonder that the army and National Guard recruits are so frequently motor dullards."

DRILL IN THE SCHOOLS IS POPULAR[1]

Prof. William Stearns Davis, of the Department of History, University of Minnesota, sheds some light upon the question of military training in the land grant institutions of the West in the course of an interesting letter which is published in the New York Times. He takes occasion, in the first place, to deny the statement of the World Peace Foundation that drill in the schools and colleges is bound to be unpopular, and cannot, in any case, develop efficient material. At the University of Minnesota, he continues, there are 1,500 cadets enrolled, this number including not only the freshman class, with whom the drill is compulsory, but many upper classmen whose interest in the subject is so great that they volunteer for the course year after year. Of the enthusiasm with which the students look upon this course he says: "The best evidence of this is the very large number that are volunteering to continue the drill in the upper classes, where it is no longer obligatory; the almost embarrassing proportion desire to carry voluntarily their study to the point where they can become cadet officers; and last, but not least, a really considerable number are anxious to go to 'student camps' in the summer and fit themselves for officers' posts in the National Guard, and in some instances even in the Regular Army."

It is erroneous, Professor Davis also points out, for the opponents of military drill in educational institutions to speak of it as monotonous and "useless in modern trench warfare." Necessarily some of the instruction must be of a rudimentary nature, but the major portion of the time is given up to serious problems, including the digging and carrying of trenches. A week is spent under canvas every year. He adds: "It is the testimony of competent and impartial inspectors of the corps that in event of a crisis the University of Minnesota could offer the government a full regiment of infantry, a battery of four guns with horses, and a machine-gun squad, all as well disciplined as possibly a great many units in the National Guard, and able by a short hardening process to become extremely useful factors in active service.

"With a little encouragement, such as it is hoped Congress

[1] Army and Navy Journal. 53: 623. January 15, 1916.

will supply, it can be arranged that almost every graduate shall have a great part of the theoretical knowledge needful for a subaltern commissioned officer, and the practical field knowledge he would then be in a position to learn very rapidly under the intensive training of service conditions.

"This praise would not have been justified ten years ago. It is permissible now not because of any specially favorable conditions in the community or large financial outlay, but simply because a succession of able commandants have been supported intelligently by the War Department and the local university administration. There is absolutely nothing about the situation which could not be duplicated in several hundred institutions throughout the land, if a little intelligent energy were applied to their respective problems."

AN AMERICAN SCHOOL ARMY[1]

We may as well face the fact that when this European slaughter is over and its horrors removed from our very eyes America is going to prosper greatly, rejoice and talk peace, and straightway forget the necessity of being prepared to defend our rights and liberties when troubled days come again. Getting through this present crisis without a fight will only make our self-satisfaction and sense of security the greater.

It can only be hoped that now, while the necessity for a defensive army is clear to the very great majority of Americans, we may develop some rational system for providing and maintaining one. If we are to have an army, it must be an American army in every sense of the word. It must be the most efficient army in the world. Its organization and maintenance must be in harmony with our best traditions and highest ideals of liberty and equality. It must appeal to the common sense of the people generally as not only an efficient weapon of defense, but as well an army beneficial to the country in time of peace; an army around which the nation can grow without any of the fears which our ancestors had about large standing armies.

We must not adopt bodily some system from some other country that may appear excellent for that country, but that has

[1] By Kent E. Keller, Illinois State Senator. Harper's Weekly. 61: 484-6. November 20, 1915.

not been tried out in actual warfare. We ought rather to originate some plan of our own, suited to our own conditions, the fundamental principles of which have been thoroughly well proven in actual conflict of arms.

Military drill a few minutes each week in schools; a few weeks' outing in summer camps; a business men's army league to drill when they can spare a little time; a three weeks' militia encampment with occasional evenings at drill between times; a summer school for officers that can neither make actual officers of them nor soldiers of the boys back home, and all the other kindred attempts at soldiering are good and inspiring in many ways. But a little study of the European conflict will show any thoughtful man what a grim and terrible thing warfare is, and that it is impossible to prepare for it too well. We must face the matter with open eyes at least. And it is no less than the truth to say that to send these fine, courageous militia boys, these enthusiastically patriotic summer soldiers—against three-year men would be little better than murder. Three-year men only can meet three-year men on equal terms.

Germany required the men who are making these astounding drives to serve working two years constantly in the infantry and three years in the cavalry and artillery. France tried out a shorter time of service for her soldiers to her heart's content. She was compelled to admit the inferiority of these short service men, and adopted the same period of service as the Germans. A short period would not do. A shorter period of service will not make soldiers of Americans. We must see this plainly or suffer dearly for our folly if the test ever comes. The necessity for this long preparation is fully understood and appreciated by all military men. It must also be fully accepted by the people of this country generally before we can have a real army. The hope that any makeshift will do ought not to be indulged in at all, in any quarter. To rely on summer soldiers is to court disaster. It is training that makes the soldier; it is training that makes the officer—plenty of training and plenty of time. It takes trained soldiers and trained officers both to make an army.

West Point takes plain American boys with only fair education, without any proof of soldierly qualities, aptitude for war, or native ability to command, and in four years' constant training and educating hammers them not only into soldiers of the

first class, but into officers and gentlemen—commanders and leaders of soldiers—the equal of any military men in the world.

The plan here offered to meet our requirements makes no pretension to completeness. It is set out rather as a basis for discussion in the hope that rational direction may be given the present general desire for some adequate means of national defense.

The Plan

1—Let one hundred thousand boys between the ages of sixteen and eighteen, apportioned among the states, volunteer each year into the American School Army for a period of three years.

2—Let these devote from two to three hours (about the time used in West Point) daily to military drill, army exercises, study of military science, and physical training and education, including sanitation, prevention of disease and like broad general information.

3—The remaining time to be devoted to study along general educational lines, devoting especial attention to agriculture, manual training, and the useful arts, trades and sciences that are best adapted to fitting men for the practical work of life.

4—These boys to live constantly under the strictest military discipline, and to maintain a standard of morals equal to the best secular military schools.

5—The United States to pay all costs of maintenance, food, clothing, instruction, medical attendance, and a small allowance for "spending money." The boys themselves to do all the labor of every kind and character, the same as soldiers do under conditions of war. This will not only train them in actual soldiering, but the expense of maintenance will be so low that the number suggested in this plan will prove no burden to the country.

6—The boys in return for this three years of schooling and methodical growth are, upon graduation, to become Reservists for a period of twenty years, subject to call to the colors, classified so as to let the oldest be called last in the case of war.

7—These schools should be distributed in large units, probably not less than ten thousand in a unit, in localities best suited to their work. The school should continue for the ordinary school year. Then for ten weeks the boys should break

camp and march under the usual conditions of war to central points where large armies should meet for maneuver. This would give the officers every opportunity to learn the handling, moving and supplying of large bodies of soldiers. It would give the men every experience in actual soldiering under all the conditions of war. It was these great maneuvers that perfected both the European men and officers for these immense strategic moves.

8—In this school army leadership would be encouraged among the men from the very beginning. The natural leaders would come to the front. They would, of course, supply their own officers for this school army, as well as grade and classify for future use all who aspired to leadership. At graduation, from among those who had shown the best leadership and fitness for command and for special technical service, would be selected as many as should be required for higher officers. These ablest men—these strongest natural leaders—would be sent for four years to a greater West Point, or West Points, where they would very certainly develop into the world's best military men.

9—The government would establish an "Army and Navy Journal" for the use of all army and navy men. After graduation all the men would receive this paper free during the entire twenty years, wherever they went. The "Journal" would keep every Reservist constantly in touch with military and naval development all over the world. Their training and experience would enable them to at once understand and use intelligently every new invention or method of warfare in case war should be thrust upon us. It would make American Reservists the most intelligent in the world. It would stimulate inventive genius among a vast number of trained, resourceful men. It would keep up interest, encourage individual growth and aid team intelligence.

10—This system would result in giving the United States two million men constantly ready, the best trained, the most intelligent and resourceful soldiers in the world—not machines—but men who would grow as military invention and practise grow. It woud put us in position to say to all nations: We will do no wrong; *we will suffer no wrong.*

From this school army idea would naturally develop an American School Navy system, either as an independent or coordinate establishment, as should be found most practicable.

Aside from military purposes this school army system would give the country each year one hundred thousand graduates in usefulness. It would offer to every boy, who had for any reason been denied an education, an opportunity for three years of the best schooling possible. It would set a physical standard for all American men outside the school army, as well as in it. This would lead ultimately to an American ideal of physical manhood, so much needed and so much neglected.

Every locality would get back some boy grown to inspiring manhood, skilled in industry, schooled in patriotism, able to think, clean, knowing sanitation for himself and for his community; the making of a broad-gaged American whom his country had educated and who would owe his best service to his country—fit to father the coming race of better men.

The thorough mixing in the school army of these boys from all the various states and sections of the country would nationalize the school and through it the nation. The hyphen would disappear from our citizenship as naturally as ripened leaves fall to give place to a newer growth.

We have had a standing army for fifty years and have not one reservist. When the last man's enlistment is out the army ceases to exist. We must have reserves. A regular army large enough to be important probably cannot be had, even if we cover all the remaining bill-boards with flaring advertisements. And we ought not to want one, because a body of adult citizens to be trained into an army is too entirely wasteful to be considered seriously. This applies with even greater force to our militia. They cannot afford to leave their business long enough to become soldiers any more than the business can afford to have them leave it. They, like all other adults, are where they are doing the most good or growing toward that position.

There would be no waste in the school army. It would simply be taking boys before they are ready for industry and using the intervening time to educate and fit them for better service, at the same time making soldiers of them. This saving of the wages of the adults and the enormous gains in efficiency of the School Army Reservists are most important considerations.

There would be no lack of volunteers for this school army. With strict moral discipline most parents would want their

boys to have the training; and most boys would certainly want the experience and growth. But if for any reason there should be a lack of volunteers, the government has within its discretion the power to easily and certainly induce many more to volunteer than the number suggested.

There would always be an abundance of reservists at graduation willing to serve for a reasonable time in manning and caring for the coast defenses and such duties as are now especially required of the regular army.

And, not the least among the advantages to be gained, these reservists who had studied and drilled and soldiered for three years, and marched and maneuvered in great armies, would not only furnish officers for their own body of reservists, but would abundantly supply the very best officers for all the lower grades, at least for as many volunteer soldiers as the country could procure in case of such dire necessity.

A PROPOSED MILITARY SYSTEM[1]

The system recommended by American experts for adoption by this country would begin with the training of all boys between the ages of twelve and eighteen in gymnastics, hygiene, the manual of arms, rifle practice, and platoon and company formations. In the summer of his nineteenth year every boy would be assigned to his regiment and begin active service with two months of intensive training in battalion, regimental, and brigade manœuvers, and afterward, he would be enrolled for service for four years, or until he is twenty-three—his service in time of peace being limited to two weeks spent in camp each summer. At twenty-three years of age the young man would be mustered out of his regiment and placed in the reserve, from which he could be called to active service only in case of dire need. This system would eventually furnish the United States with an active army of 2,500,000 men under twenty-four years of age, and with a reserve of nearly 8,000,000 trained soldiers between the ages of twenty-four and forty-five who could be called upon in case of a long war.

Military training and service would, under peace conditions,

[1] From "The writing on the wall," by Eric Fisher Wood. Century Co. 1916.

be completely finished by all men before they reached their twenty-fourth birthday, thus interfering as little as possible with their productive life. In the event that war were thrust upon us, the casualties would be borne by a class of men who, for the most part, had not yet acquired families or reached positions of great responsibility.

A serious defect in our national life in America is the lack of loyalty for or sense of duty toward the Government. Europeans emphatically declare us the most unpatriotic nation in the world. Military training rapidly develops civic consciousness. It teaches the young to revere their flag. Their patriotism kindled at the most susceptible age, abides with them all their lives thereafter. It becomes no longer a phrase, a song, a momentary emotion, but the mainspring of their civic life. It grows with their growth, they breathe it in with every inspiration; as their country makes herself responsible for their well-being, they, in return, feel responsibility for her safety and prosperity, and realize that it is the right and duty of every citizen to defend his country; they learn that if the need arises, they must even make the supreme sacrifice of dying for that country. It is a wholesome thought, which teaches them to make cheerfully the thousand smaller sacrifices of good citizenship."

MILITARY TRAINING IN THE SCHOOLS OF SUMTER, S. C.[1]

What has been accomplished in the Sumter (S. C.) graded schools in the training of boys for military service, without implanting in their plastic natures a yearning to engage in warfare, is another proof that the project now being urged that some sort of military instruction be introduced into the common schools of the country is a capital idea. The plan has passed the experiment stage in the Sumter schools where for fifteen years a thorough military feature has been installed; and there is reason to believe that by following a similar system in other institutions throughout the United States, the coming generation of young men may be better fitted than the present one to perform the duties of citizen soldiers in time of need.

[1] By Leon M. Green. American Review of Reviews. 52: 577-80. November, 1915.

Sumter is a town of approximately 11,000 population, about evenly divided between the white and black races. Sumter has an excellent citizenship and this citizenship is devoted to its educational interests. Necessarily the income for schools in towns of this size is limited, but in order to make the experiment and perfect the military feature, only a nominal sum was needed. The Sumter schools have about 900 pupils, a small majority thereof being boys.

The organization of a military company in the Sumter schools took place fifteen years ago when a committee of the boys asked the superintendent if they could form a company and drill. These boys, of course, had no thought of war and the idea has never been instilled into their minds at any time during the years that the system has proved to be such a success. The object was solely to develop the boys physically and mentally.

For the first few years there was a gradual evolution. Boys are not accustomed to be commanded by boys of their own age, and it would not do to discipline them too severely all at once. No revolution was possible; only by very gradual changes could the full military discipline be realized.

After the first year or two it was found advisable to employ a regular commandant for the military companies of the schools. The commandant has always been a graduate of the Citadel, the Military College of South Carolina. This institution takes high rank among military colleges and is popularly known as "the West Point of the South." The commandant, in addition to his military duties, is a member of the teaching force of the schools. All the officers are students of the schools, except the major of the battalion, who is the commandant. In fifteen years the little company of nineteen boys has grown to a battalion of four companies numbering 200.

The boys in the military are from the sixth grade grammar school through the fifth year high school, ranging in age from twelve to nineteen.

It was not necessary to make this military feature compulsory. It is a natural part of the school work just as the boys' studies are, and they fall into the drill just as naturally. The drill period is only fifteen minutes per day, immediately before the recess period. This has been found to be the most suitable time to have the drills.

Uniforms are inexpensive, and are worn only on dress

occasions. The uniform consists of blue coat, white duck trousers, and white duck cap, costing altogether less than $5. The blue coats and, in fact, the trousers and the caps can be used by the boys after the school term is over. In the Southern States, at least, the attire is ample for the summer months.

The military organization at the Sumter schools is not in conflict with the class organization. For instance, a student who is captain of his class and marches the boys out from the classroom, is frequently a private in the battalion. Thus he is one minute giving orders and the next minute receiving them! In this way he is taught the highest discipline.

There is sufficient reason other than the military training given for the system in vogue at the Sumter schools. Necessarily the training received by the boys makes for bodily development. The exercise of fifteen minutes daily drill gives an opportunity to every boy to work himself gradually into athletic trim, many of the boys being too frail at the outset to indulge in any violent exercise. However, a natural outgrowth of the military feature has been the tendency toward physical exercise of a beneficial nature on the part of the boys. The record of the Sumter schools in State athletic circles stands high, two football championships for high schools having been won and a high standing in track athletics being maintained. Military training has been strongly urged for college students, especially those who do not make the football or baseball team. The most important development, however, to the boys in the military is not physical but mental. The concentration required in going through the manual of arms and the intricate drill formations is a mental stimulant to the growing youth.

Many of the boys in the battalion are twelve, thirteen, fourteen, and fifteen years of age, in addition to the older ones ranging up to nineteen years of age. As a matter of caution, therefore, no ammunition is used in the drills. The companies are instructed, however, in the method of handling a gun; in fact, all the mechanism and military tactics of firing are gone through with, except the actual placing of ammunition in the guns. As the boys grow older they get their target practise in other ways, as most of them hunt, and, later, many of them join the local militia.

In connection with field maneuvers, the Sumter Battalion has the "open order" work. This gives actual training in war-

like executions, including practise in getting into a skirmish line and the accompanying deployments. There is no element of the "extended order" that is not taught the boys. A movement is on foot to form a number of military companies in nearby towns and out of this is expected to grow a sort of competitive warfare practise, including sham battles, among the various schools' military organizations.

The Sumter Light Infantry, the local company of the State militia and one of the crack military organizations of South Carolina, is recruited practically entirely from the graded school graduates. Almost all the company's officers had training at the high school. They were fitted there for military service and they took naturally to rifle practise. Many of the high-school graduates have acquitted themselves in an exceptional manner at military institutions, including West Point. A number of them also have become officers in the National Guard of the State of South Carolina.

The Sumter school boys are well drilled and they go through all field movements, not only in company but in battalion formation. No feature of infantry maneuvers remains untaught, and all instruction is in the hands of an expert military man from one of the best institutions in the country.

Medals are offered by individuals and by the Sumter Light Infantry for proficiency in drill, and this interest on the part of the townfolk stimulates the boys to perfect themselves in their military exercises. An annual dress parade in battalion formation is held and in this the public evinces great interest. A competitive drill in the manual of arms is held at commencement time at the concluding exercises of the schools and the best individual showing is rewarded with a gold medal.

The system has been given a thorough test and at the end of the fifteen years the superintendent of the schools and the people of Sumter and the students themselves believe the idea a good one and that the practical results have proved the military feature beneficial in several ways:

First, the boys themselves are more enthusiastic now than the first little band of nineteen were fifteen years ago when they came to him and asked him to organize a military company for drill. The boys wish the system to remain in the schools and they prove this by their interest.

Second, the Sumter schools have the United States record

for holding a large percentage of boys in the high school. This is attributed in a large measure to the military feature.

Third, the lessons in attention and concentration and the inculcation of the ability both to obey and command are splendid results of the military feature.

There are other considerations, too. The adolescent boy, as everyone that comes in contact with youth knows, requires some outlet of a physical nature and the military training gives this in satisfying measure. The training is admirable. It cannot be emphasized too strongly that the boy is not taught to fight. Preparedness of a military nature is not in the back of his head. He is instructed neither for nor against war. But if the occasion ever arises, the boys trained in the Sumter schools will be prepared to shoulder muskets.

The fifteen years' experience in the Sumter schools shows that boys can be trained for the military without the sinister motive of war.

THE WYOMING SYSTEM[1]

A citizen soldiery is the one plan that meets the needs of sane preparedness without the slightest sacrifice of democratic principles or menace to free institutions. Nor is it necessary to turn eyes to Switzerland and Australia. For five years Wyoming has been pioneering in this delicate matter of military instruction in the schools, and now places results on the table for all the nation to see and study. The Swiss and Australian models have been followed in some degree, but the big outstanding features of the plan are entirely original, having particular regard for American ideals and prejudices.

Boston has had high-school cadets for fifty years and Washington, D. C., for thirty-two years, but the Wyoming experiment lends itself best to investigation because it has had the acid test of opposition.

Service in the cadet corps of Wyoming is not compulsory and there is no such thing as active recruiting, yet ninety per cent of the high-school population of the state has volunteered.

[1] From "Wyoming's answer to militarism—five years of training schoolboys to think true, live true, and shoot true"—by George Creel. Everybody's. 34: 150-9. February, 1916. Also in Congressional Record. 53: 5890-2. March 29, 1916. In speech of Frank W. Mondell.

Like most big ideas, the Wyoming experiment "just happened." In 1911 the War Office assigned Lieutenant Edgar Z. Steever to duty as inspector-instructor of the Organized Militia of Wyoming, for the Nation still clings to its traditional belief that the National Guard has no need that can not be met by casual contact with an officer of the Regular Army. Quite inevitably Lieutenant Steever found time hanging heavily on his hands, and it was out of his restless energy that he conceived the idea of a cadet corps in the high school of Cheyenne. The opposition that sprung instantly into angry life merits analysis because, in its essence, it typifies all opposition to any such ideas.

The labor unions refused to see anything in the plan but a training school for the militia, and they reaffirmed their unalterable hostility to the National Guard as being nothing more than an armed force for the use of the employing class in industrial disputes.

Parents based their objections upon the ground that military instruction would exalt martial ideals in the mind of every youngster. Preachers opposed because they scented militarism, and educators were antagonistic out of their fear that individual initiative would be destroyed and personal responsibility undermined.

Lieut. Steever might have followed the custom of his profession by denouncing those who opposed him as "traitors" and "mollycoddles," but instead of that he analyzed the objections and devised ways of satisfying them in all fairness. It was at this point that the plan left beaten paths and commenced to take on originality.

To the labor unions he said: "I will agree to surrender all idea of compulsion. Enlistment shall be voluntary. I promise complete separation of the cadet corps from the militia and the placing of entire emphasis upon national defense without reference to police duty for the State."

He went to the parents with these assurances: "We will make citizens, not soldiers. Your boys will be taught the advantages of a strong body and a clean mind, the value of self-control and decent restraints, civic duties and responsibilities. Our goal will be the full development of the fraternal instinct—the community-of-interest spirit—so that every youngster will grow up in the understanding that no group, whether it be a cadet

company, city, state, or nation, is stronger than its weakest member."

The clergy and the pacifists were appeased by this frank statement of position: "The essence of militarism is excessive armaments and a huge standing army, while our purpose is no more than such training of youth during the school years as will permit them to devote their manhood to orderly civil pursuits. You can't cut militarism out with a moral precept. You've got to crowd it out with something better and finer."

The attack of the educators on the score of destroyed initiative was met by a counter attack. "Do you mean to say that the athletic sports of your schools develop initiative?" Lieut. Steever demanded. "Go and listen a while to the coaches of football teams and baseball nines. You rake the school or college for the strongest and most skillful and put these chosen few in the hands of specialists who demand the blindest sort of obedience. This one-half of 1 per cent is the athletic expression of the student body. The 99½ per cent get exercise by sitting in grandstand seats and develop initiative by parroting the cries that a yell leader teaches them. What is this but a tragedy of lopsided development? All thought for those who are strong already and neglect for those who can not make a team. My cadet plan reaches every boy in the school with a training that will strengthen him physically, mentally, and morally."

The Cheyenne school board gave its consent at last, and Lieut. Steever issued his call for volunteers. Just 16 boys responded, their ages running from 12 to 18, and with even greater differences in the matter of physique. First of all Lieut. Steever had them elect two leaders, and when this was done two squads were formed of eight men each, the leaders taking turn about in choosing members. As a consequence each squad contained an equal number of strong, medium, and weak.

His squads formed, Lieut. Steever straightway made appeal to the three fundamentals of juvenile life—the love of games, the competitive instinct, and the "gang" instinct. "It's one squad against the other," he said. "Nip and tuck. We're going to have a tournament in January, and the winners will get gold medals. Remember now, team play does it. Your squad's your gang, boys."

The setting-up exercises and calisthenics came under routine, but Lieut. Steever got the game note with competitive wall

scaling. Enlisting the services of a carpenter, he had two board walls, about 8 feet 4 inches in height, chocked in place in the gymnasium. A 15-foot run started the climb, and the race was to see which squad could scramble over first.

Every boy in the Cheyenne High School was now enrolled—that is, every fit boy. In that institution, as in every other, a certain number of lads were found to be unfit for cadet work, and Lieut. Steever devised a special course in physical training for this class that would bring them up to normal. One boy with a heart lesion plugged away for two years before the doctors pronounced him ready for the squad. To-day he hasn't a weak spot in his whole body.

Looking over his ground, Lieut. Steever hit upon a new idea, that not only accentuated the non-militaristic emphasis but also gave promise of stimulating youthful ardor to an even higher pitch. It was decided to let each squad have a sponsor, chosen from the girls of the school, who should be a member of the squad to all intents and purposes, sharing in high hopes, softening juvenile savageries, and giving a note of chivalry to the competitions.

As spring wore away the gymnasium was deserted for the open field, and Lieut. Steever's eyes turned longingly to the mountains. It took a bit of arranging, but consent to two weeks of "camping out" was gained at last, and a joyous morning came when the cadets marched out of Cheyenne at a double quick, singing at the top of their young voices. Singing, by the way, is a Steever hobby.

Once in camp, instruction commenced to take wide sweeps. The boys learned to pitch their tents, to do their own cooking, and were taught the all-important fundamentals of sanitation and personal hygiene. There were extended-order drills and skirmishes, first aid to the injured practice, signal corps work, trench digging, map reading, and map making; the secrets of woodcraft and plaincraft were revealed to them, and they even reached a point where they flung a sturdy bridge across a turbulent little mountain stream.

Hard and fast orders were never given. From the first Lieut. Steever bent every energy to make the clean-cut distinction between leadership and drivership. In camp he prefaced all new departures by conferences with the boys, "doping it out together," in order that the smallest cadet should understand the

"why." In his own school days he had been a member of the cadet corps in Washington, and he still remembered his boyish revolt against the "rock-crusher" style of drilling.

Target practice naturally proved a joyous feature of cadet life for the Wyoming boys. Rifles were borrowed from the War Office, and here again the competitive note was introduced by having the squads shoot one against the other for medals. Lieut. Steever holds the world's rifle record at 200, 500, and 1,000 yards, and to-day he asserts flatly that every visit to the range sees him hard pressed by his cadets for first honors.

Patriotism, when unaccompanied by physical fitness, is not the splendid and effective passion that the pacifist gentlemen would have us believe when they declare that America's call for defenders would find a million men in arms by nightfall. The records prove that 50 per cent of the men who offer for enlistment can not be accepted, and that 50 per cent of those who are accepted die before the firing line is reached because they can not stand the hardships of the open.

The idea must not be gained, however, that the Wyoming plan cares for nothing but a boy's chest and legs. There are scholarship squads as well as wall-scaling squads; and while the competitions are not fought out before cheering thousands, there are medals for the winners, and the rivalry is just as keen. Squad leaders are elected; they take turns choosing members, as in the case of the other squads, and the fight is to hang up the highest average in every branch of schoolwork. These scholarship squads have their sponsors to urge them on, and the standings are posted on the bulletin board every week, medals being awarded at the end of the term. One squad leader, whose team had lost in the tournament, set sail for a scholarship medal, and he won it by going to the homes of his backward members at night for the purpose of helping them with their lessons Not very much "militarism" about that!

After five years of demonstration, the Steever idea has won the official stamp of approval by Wyoming and its people, regardless of class and circumstance, creeds and prejudices. Not one single prophesied evil has flowed from it, while the good results have exceeded the most sanguine expectation.

The principals of the high schools unite in this declaration: "Since the organization of the cadet corps truancy is no longer a problem, nor do our boys quit school for a premature entrance

into industry. School life has been made interesting, and we have no trouble in keeping them for the complete course."

The juvenile judges say: "We are the doctors, but Lieut. Steever is the sanitarian. We prescribe, but he prevents. There used to be about 8 per cent of delinquency among the high-school boys, but the self-discipline and self-restraints of the cadets have wiped it out."

The warden of the penitentiary makes this succinct statement: "If Lieut. Steever gets them, I don't."

Another tremendous benefit lies in the complete elimination of class distinction and caste lines. Snobbery finds it impossible to live in the democratic atmosphere of the cadet corps, for just as every squad has its weak and strong so it is made up of the rich and the poor, the Fauntleroys and the Smikes. A feature of the cadet year is the parties given by the sponsor, or by the squad itself under the supervision of the sponsor, and it may be the case that the sponsor is a banker's daughter, and the squad leader the son of a miner.

Another democratizing influence lies in the entertainment arrangements during the intercity tournaments. The boys and the sponsors are not sent to hotels, but are billeted on the members of the local corps. As a consequence the car conductor's son may be the guest in the home of the car conductor's president, or the son of a magnate may be occupying the spare room in the cottage of a workman. The time to sow the seeds of democracy is in youth, before prejudices have had a chance to harden.

A by-product of this system, by the way, is good breeding. No squad, when attending a party or visiting away from home, wants to be disgraced by a "rough neck." Lessons in deportment that would be resisted and derided if they came from adults are heeded when they proceed from squad pride.

The very selection of squad leaders is in itself a training in citizenship. At the beginning of each year an election is held by secret ballot. At the start boy politics exercised a dominant influence, and many inefficients were chosen because of personal popularity or social standing. It was soon seen that an inefficient leader meant an inefficient squad, and each succeeding election witnessed an increase in the intelligent voting that is based on the merit of the candidate rather than his personality. To-day the one thing that counts in a cadet election is the ability to deliver the goods.

Jim, for example, was a lad who reached up from one of the dark holes of the world and caught the bottom rung of life's ladder. He started to climb, and at the time he entered the high school he was paying his way by all sorts of janitor work. The very courage that carried this boy over obstacles was the courage that wins out in cadet work, and there came an election when the votes of well-to-do boys named the young furnace cleaner as squad leader.

The most careful inquiry in Wyoming fails to reveal the slightest foundation for the fear that military instruction will irresistibly incline the juvenile mind to martial pursuits. The four years of cadet work in the high school seems to satisfy the military desire of the normal boy. This is borne out by the experience of Boston, where compulsory military training in the schools has been in effect for 50 years. The percentage of enlistment in the United States Army from Boston and its six suburbs is one-half of 1 per cent, the lowest in the United States.

The large emphasis of this article has been placed upon the civic ideals of the Wyoming idea because it is from this direction that attack comes principally. But the results obtained constitute an answer not only to the "professional" pacifist, but also to the "professional" militarist who remains wedded to the obsession of a standing army. Competent defenders are made as well as intelligent citizens. No less an authority than Maj. Gen. Wood commends unstintedly the military values of the Wyoming system in these words:

"Give these Steever cadets three months in a training camp for the purpose of coordinating what they have learned, and familiarizing them with the work in the mass, and you will have as fine and effective a body of troops as ever took arms in defense of a country. The high-school training gives the boys the sound physical base that is the first essential to any rational plan of national preparedness. It teaches the important lessons of abstinence and self-mastery and forms the invaluable habits of discipline and cooperative effort. Above all, it grounds them in the fundamentals of military science and training, lifting them high above the raw volunteers who are the despair of officers in a crisis."

Certainly no plan of an adequate national defense yet broached deserves larger consideration than the Wyoming idea. Aside from the fact that it gains every desired result without

the slightest impingement upon American ideals, there are the added advantages of simplicity and economy. Given a gymnasium, which no school should lack, the only additional expense lies in the erection of scaling walls and the purchase of uniforms. In 1914, however, the Wyoming legislature passed a law providing a fund for furnishing uniforms to the cadets, and this generous example could be followed with profit by other states.

No larger task remains, then, than the division of the United States into districts, and the assignment of Army officers to school duty in these districts.

The problem of continued instruction, contained in the scheme of a national reserve, is solved by the very summer camps that are an integral part of the regular cadet work. As they fall during the vacation period the district officer would merely transfer his activities from the school to the open for the three months of June, July, and August.

Two weeks would serve the needs of the school-going cadet, but graduates would remain the full three months in order to gain the coordination suggested by Gen. Wood. For the next 2 years these graduates need report only for 2 weeks, and, for the following 3 years, 10 days a year. Six years of it—from 19 to 25, say—without interrupting the business of life, and then inclusion in the great trained national-reserve force ready for any exigency of national peril.

The War Department is already committed to the policy of supplying these camps with all necessary equipment, as well as the necessary instructors and the personnel for the organization and maintenance of camp-wagon transports, medical care, and sanitation.

Here, then, is a plan that has stood the test of five years of practice—a plan based upon voluntary action, without suspicion of militarism, and admittedly productive of better citizens as well as fit defenders.

MILITARY TRAINING A NECESSITY[1]

The necessity of preparedness is fact, not theory. The obligation on every able-bodied man to defend his country is fact, not theory. And the best defense of the legitimate rights of the country, the best defense against the very possibility of hostilities, is adequate military preparation. A man who builds a house in a district known to be infested with burglars does not wait until the thief is at the door to order a lock. The very fact that the house is furnished with locks and burglar alarms tends to keep the burglar away. It is just as sensible to say that reasonable military preparedness makes a nation eager to go to war as to say that putting locks on one's own doors makes one eager to be a thief.

Two methods of meeting our obvious need are possible. We may materially increase the size of our voluntary professional army, or we may resort to universal compulsory military training.

A larger professional army would certainly be better than nothing. It would not permanently solve our problem.

The only alternative is some kind of universal military service, and this has a horrid sound to pacifists and to the great mass of selfish citizens who angrily grasp the fact that it means self-sacrifice on their part as well as on the part of those who, so far, have borne all the burden. This national service would, of course, not mean anything like the two years' service with the colors in Germany nor the three years' service in France. It would rather be modeled on the Swiss or the Australian system, or else, as being easier to manage in such a huge country, and as entailing less hardship on the recruits, it might be continuous service of a single year. This last suggestion, which is strongly urged by experts who have studied the matter, would, like the Swiss system, mean certain preliminary training in school, principally of an athletic nature, from the age of twelve.

It would then mean a year of continuous service with the colors at about the age of twenty, and nothing more. The Swiss system, of several shorter periods of service, is already widely understood. It would, apparently, be effective in producing a citizenry trained for service in case of war, but it

[1] From "Wake-up, America," by William R. Castle, Jr. Dodd. 1916.

would certainly be harder to manage. Employers would be irritated at having to give up their employees several different times, and young men starting in business would rebel at having their work continually broken into. With the comparatively slight military training involved in either of these plans army officers believe, however, that every male citizen physically and mentally and morally sound would, in the dreaded event of war, be able to join the colors as an efficient soldier in a short time; ready, not after a year, but after a few weeks at most, ably to support the regular army. These plans, let it be noted, do not necessarily contemplate compulsory service in time of war, but only compulsory training. It is certain that few men whose training had given them a feeling of responsibility to the state, and who knew themselves to be efficient soldiers, would hold back at a time of crisis. Acceptance of "the great adventure," the offer to give one's life to preserve the nation, might still be voluntary. But it would be a glad, not a grudging offer, because the individual would have learned to answer the signal and would know himself to be fit.

The arguments against national service are as many as they are unsound or ignoble. It is necessary to look at only one or two, since in them are included all which have any semblance of validity. Such service is said, first of all, to be economically impossible; young men must not be drawn, at a critical period of their lives, from their work or their study, as the case may be; the productive power of the community would, in consequence, be immeasurably decreased. This argument is heard almost, if not quite as often as the other, but it is seldom enunciated with such violence. National service is undemocratic, one hears on every side, because it is compulsory. America is a free country.

First as to the economic argument. It is perhaps no answer, but it is nevertheless a fact, that Germany and France, with their two years' service—the three years of France has not been fully tested—have by no means fallen behind the rest of the world in their producing power. Only a very bold man would assert the United States to be more efficient, commercially, than is Germany. Perhaps it would be fairer, however, to confine ourselves to America. The claim of interference with study is mere nonsense, because college men would, after learning the lessons of economy of time, of promptness in

filling engagements, of strict performance of duty of the moment, be able to pursue their studies to far greater advantage. Or, if the Swiss system of short terms of service were adopted, they would be better mentally and physically after summers in camp than after summers spent in the idle pursuit of pleasure. As to those who must almost in boyhood, become producers, the argument in favor of such training is even stronger. Such men are apt to become weak physically—they do not stand straight, they do not breathe enough fresh air, they do not know how to use their muscles to the best advantage, they begin to grow old at forty. For such men military training in the open would be invaluable. By slightly curtailing the period of production in youth this training would extend it greatly in middle age, not to speak of the fact that it would undoubtedly increase the productive power at all stages. These things are admitted by all nations which have universal military training. No measure which will sensibly increase the productive power of the nation can wisely be attacked on economic grounds.

Even less defensible is the strident accusation that military national service is undemocratic. It is rather the very essence of true democracy because no exceptions are made, and because it is the effort of all alike for the common good. In one period of life, at least, it is the perfect recognition of equality.

National service would go very far toward breaking up unfortunate feelings of class rivalry, because such feelings rest largely on misunderstandings. We estimate each other largely by our clothes. When we are stripped artificial differences disappear. In the military camp, where all are dressed alike, it is character, and character only, that counts. Our young men would learn to estimate each other by standards of quickness of wit and of body, of manliness, and chivalry, and honor, not by outward appearances. The fellow who has been brought up in luxury would cease, for the time being, to feel immensely superior to the fellow whom he had seen driving an express-wagon, unless that fellow were actually inferior in character, and he would never forget that the man in the street, is still a man, with all the rights of a man. And, conversely, the poor boy, who has somehow scrambled through a few years of life in the slums, would learn not to despise the rich man's son, whose muscles are as strong as his own; he would not forget in after life that such a man, also, has his rights as a man and

that they are worthy of consideration. Nothing is so destructive of unfair class prejudice as contact on equal terms.

Most important of all, perhaps, this national service, which would demand of every man a certain proportion of his material goods and a definite amount of his time, would be recognized by every one as support of the nation and would therefore increase sane and loyal patriotism. It would discourage undesirable immigration because the chief object of many of our undesirable immigrants is to escape just such service. It would materially aid, therefore, in the industrial reorganization which has become more than ever necessary since the great war has disrupted and will, for years to come, prevent the normal reintegration of trade and industrial relations between the nations. By discouraging undesirable immigrants national service would help to hold America for Americans; would so increase individual efficiency that our industries would not suffer from the diminution in the stream of immigration; so decrease the causes of the friction by the removal of foolish misunderstandings; so raise the national morale by emphasizing the responsibility of every citizen, that he should be able to hold, through common effort, the accidental pre-eminence given us by the war in Europe.

Ten years ago the man who dared to advocate national service would have been derided as un-American. To-day he who raises the standard is listened to at least respectfully, as one whose arguments must be considered, however wrong they are. Those only turn aside with a sneer who are too selfish to allow anything to interfere with their private pursuit of pleasure or of gain, and those who see in the ability to stand straight, to obey quickly, and to shoot a rifle in the direction intended, some queerly indefinable connection with a lust for conquest. National service would not make the country perfect. It would go a long way toward eradicating the selfishness, the shiftlessness, the lack of discipline, which are at the bottom of a large part of our national ills. It would not be an economic calamity but an economic advantage; it would not be undemocratic, but rather the final assertion of the right of democracy to live.

NEGATIVE DISCUSSION

THE MORAL EQUIVALENT OF WAR[1]

The war against war is going to be no holiday excursion or camping party. The military feelings are too deeply grounded to abdicate their place among our ideals until better substitutes are offered than the glory and shame that come to nations as well as to individuals from the ups and downs of politics and the vicissitudes of trade. There is something highly paradoxical in the modern man's relation to war. Ask all our millions, north and south, whether they would vote now (were such a thing possible) to have our war for the Union expunged from history, and the record of a peaceful transition to the present time substituted for that of its marches and battles, and probably hardly a handful of eccentrics would say yes. Those ancestors, those efforts, those memories and legends, are the most ideal part of what we now own together, a sacred spiritual possession worth more than all the blood poured out. Yet ask those same people whether they would be willing in cold blood to start another civil war now to gain another similar possession, and not one man or women would vote for the proposition. In modern eyes, precious though wars may be, they must not be waged solely for the sake of the ideal harvest. Only when forced upon one, only when an enemy's injustice leaves us no alternative, is a war now thought permissible.

There is nothing to make one indignant in the mere fact that life is hard, that men should toil and suffer pain. The planetary conditions once for all are such, and we can stand it. But that so many men, by mere accident of birth and opportunity, should have a life of *nothing else* but toil and pain and hardness and inferiority imposed upon them, should have *no* vacation, while others natively no more deserving never get any taste of this campaigning life at all,—*this* is capable of arousing indignation

[1] From pamphlet by William James. American Association for International Conciliation. 1910.

in reflective minds. It may end by seeming shameful to all of us that some of us have nothing but campaigning, and others nothing but unmanly ease. If now—and this is my idea—there were, instead of military conscription a conscription of the whole youthful population to form for a certain number of years a part of the army enlisted against *Nature,* the injustice would tend to be evened out, and numerous other goods to the commonwealth would follow. The military ideals of hardihood and discipline would be wrought into the growing fibre of the people; no one would remain blind as the luxurious classes now are blind, to man's real relations to the globe he lives on, and to the permanently sour and hard foundations of his higher life. To coal and iron mines, to freight trains, to fishing fleets in December, to dish-washing, clothes-washing, and window-washing, to road-building and tunnel-making, to foundries and stoke-holes, and to the frames of skyscrapers, would our gilded youths be drafted off, according to their choice, to get the childishness knocked out of them, and to come back into society with healthier sympathies and soberer ideas. They would have paid their blood-tax, done their own part in the immemorial human warfare against nature, they would tread the earth more proudly, the women would value them more highly, they would be better fathers and teachers of the following generation.

Such a conscription, with the state of public opinion that would have required it, and the many moral fruits it would bear, would preserve in the midst of a pacific civilization the manly virtues which the military party is so afraid of seeing disappear in peace. We should get toughness without callousness, authority with as little criminal cruelty as possible, and painful work done cheerily because the duty is temporary, and threatens not, as now, to degrade the whole remainder of one's life. I spoke of the "moral equivalent" of war. So far, war has been the only force that can discipline a whole community, and until an equivalent discipline is organized, I believe that war must have its way. But I have no serious doubt that the ordinary prides and shames of social man, once developed to a certain intensity, are capable of organizing such a moral equivalent as I have sketched, or some other just as effective for preserving manliness of type. It is but a question of time, of skillful propagandism, and of opinion-making men seizing historic opportunities.

The martial type of character can be bred without war. Strenuous honor and disinterestedness abound elsewhere. Priests and medical men are in a fashion educated to it, and we should all feel some degree of it imperative if we were conscious of our work as an obligatory service to the state. We should be-*owned,* as soldiers are by the army, and our pride would rise accordingly. We could be poor, then, without humiliation, as army officers now are. The only thing needed henceforward is to inflame the civic temper as past history has inflamed the military temper.

H. G. Wells thinks that the conceptions of order and discipline, the tradition of service and devotion, of physical fitness, unstinted exertion, and universal responsibility, which universal military duty is now teaching European nations, will remain a permanent acquisition, when the last ammunition has been used in the fireworks that celebrate the final peace. I believe as he does. It would be simply preposterous if the only force that could work ideals of honor and standards of efficiency into English or American natures should be the fear of being killed by the Germans or the Japanese. Great indeed is Fear; but it is not, as our military enthusiasts believe and try to make us believe, the only stimulus known for awakening the higher ranges of men's spiritual energy. The amount of alteration in public opinion which my utopia postulates is vastly less than the difference between the mentality of those black warriors who pursued Stanley's party on the Congo with their cannibal war-cry of "Meat! Meat" and that of the "general-staff" of any civilized nation. History has seen the latter interval bridged over: the former one can be bridged over much more easily.

THE UNIVERSAL MILITARY SERVICE CURE-ALL[1]

In the years to come none of the many amazing phenomena of 1916 will, we are sure, cause greater wonderment than our recent discovery that universal military service is the cure-all for every one of our American ills. Do we wish to defend our country? We have but to adopt the system of training every

[1] By Oswald G. Villard. Nation. 102: 510-11. May 11, 1916. Abridged from his address. Academy of Political Science. Proceedings. 6: 50-8 July, 1916.

boy to be a soldier, and the problem is solved. Do we wish to become industrially efficient? Then let us forget all about vocational training, but give every American a year under arms, and presto! we shall outdo Germany in scientific efficiency and management. Is our youth lawless and undisciplined? Universal compulsory service will end that once for all. Is our democracy halting? It is the tonic of a democratic army that we need, in which all men shall pay for the privileges of citizenship by a year of preparation for poisonous gas and of learning how to shoot. Our melting-pot is a failure. Then let us pour into it the iron metal of militarism, and it will fuse every element at once. Finally, if we need an American soul—and the war has suddenly taught us that this glorious country lacks a soul—it is the remedy of universal military service that is to supply our spiritual needs and give us the ability to feel as one, to think as one, to steer towards our destiny as of one mind.

It is all so alluring and so entrancingly easy, the wonder is that we have never thought of it before. We saw it going on in France and Germany and Russia but it seemed altogether repulsive in its forms. Americans to be conscripted? Heaven forbid.

But it now seems that we were mistaken in all this; that our failure to progress financially, economically, and spiritually as rapidly as we should have done has been due solely to our failure to grasp at the panacea that lay so easily within reach. Take the education of our boys. The other day at a joint meeting of two schoolmasters' associations there were divided views on some issues, but none apparently as to the utter lawlessness of our American youth and the complete failure of our private schools to reduce them to subordination by means of mental and moral discipline. And so there were many who grasped with joy at the idea of the universal-military-drill to retrieve for them the ground lost by their own failure to do the fundamental thing they pledged themselves to accomplish. Of course, they knew little or nothing about universal service; perhaps it was the unexplored mystery of it that appealed. Many Americans are quite sure that the latest untried remedy, be it some law, or the initiative and referendum, or the recall of judicial decisions, or some other panacea, is, by reason of its very newness, just the medicine for a given ill they have been looking for. So with these school-teachers. Ignoring the fact that our private

military schools have been anything but popular, and only in exceptional cases of high standing, they turn to military drill as to a last straw. One can admire their courage while marvelling at their judgment. Fortunately, those particular teachers heard the European system of a nation in arms denounced by one of their number, who had served in Austria both as private and as officer.

For what they do not see any more than the Stanwood Menkens who, never having borne arms, yet know that universal service is what we need to make patriots by the million, is that the spirit of compulsory service makes directly against the American ideal, for it inculcates blind obedience to the will of others, subordination to those who are masters not necessarily because of superior wisdom or fitness, but largely because of accident. It often means cringing before men who abuse their power, particularly over men of finer instincts and antecedents —just as the late Karl Bitter was driven to desert from the Austrian service by intolerable persecutions. It is not without significance that there is a suicide a day among the private soldiers in the German army in time of peace—no record being kept of unsuccessful attempts at self-destruction. Again, as Major-Gen. O'Ryan, of the New York National Guard, has put it, the primary thing that military service teaches is that the soldier shall *stop thinking* and become an automaton—to do only what his officers tell him. And usually there is a steadily widening cleft between him and those officers.

Once we valued American self-assertiveness, independence of thought and action, mental alertness, yes, even the happy-go-lucky Yankee initiative and individuality, as some of our best characteristics. Now we are to prefer men cast in one mould, drilled in one way of thinking, and into obedience to their rulers. Formerly, we deemed it most worth while that all men should have their own opinions, express them freely, and differ with their rulers as they saw fit—since their rulers were but their servants. As for making patriots, universal military service makes Socialists and deserters. There is nothing whatsoever democratic about it, save that it applies to all men alike. Where universal service is most efficient, there is every kind of distinction as to regiments and individuals. The peasant serves three years, the "gentleman" one. The favors shown to the Guard regiments in Germany have led to more than one bitter

debate in the Reichstag. What can there be democratic about an army? Its whole fundamental principle is that of a hierarchy in which everybody responds automatically and blindly to the will of a commander-in-chief. What system could be more directly opposed to the democratic theory?

A SCHOOLMASTER'S VIEW OF COMPULSORY MILITARY TRAINING[1]

I am very anxious in this discussion to mind my own business. My business is that of a schoolmaster. In so far then as the proposal of universal military training involves a change in the purposes and methods of the schools, I am concerned about it. I do not intend, if I can help it, to discuss the issue of "preparedness." You may think it advisable or inadvisable that this nation prepare for war. But in either case there is a fair question which confronts you—a question of equal interest to both sides—viz., "Is the proposal of universal compulsory military training a good one as matter of education policy?"

What sort of education our young people need depends of course upon the kind of young people they are. In the recent discussions of military training, as well as in other discussions, I have heard some very uncomplimentary descriptions of the younger generation. Some of our older people speak as if by some strange caprice of chance or Providence, a plague had come down upon us. It is not this time a plague of locusts or of rats, but rather a plague of brats. Men seem to be asking: "Whence came they, these children who will not obey? What has destroyed the discipline of the world? Children nowadays do nothing as they are told to do; they do nothing properly, nothing with precision or orderliness; they are not at all like us, their parents and elders; how came they here to plague and terrify us?"

And it is from such complaints as this that, so far as I have been able to observe, the educational argument for compulsory military service is mainly derived. "Turn these disobedient brats over to the drill-master," men are saying; "let him bring

[1] By Alexander Meiklejohn, President of Amherst College. Academy of Political Science. Proceedings. 6: 171-78, July, 1916. Also in School and Society. 4: 9-14, July 1, 1916.

them into order and give them the virtues they so sorely need." but so far, at least, the argument does not seem to me convincing. It has too much the appearance of a "patent remedy" and too little the quality of the careful study of the disease. If one regards afflictions as "plagues," as inexplicable strokes of ill-fortune, one may treat them in this summary fashion. But surely the better way is to treat them as matters of cause and effect. If your children do not obey, why do they not? What has made them so unlike ourselves? It may be that if we can discover the cause of the disease we may likewise discern a remedy. It is practically certain that we shall not discover a remedy until we do know the cause.

Now the outstanding fact in the situation is that these children are "ours." They are our flesh and blood, our spirit. Our families have moulded and shaped them; the society which we are has developed and influenced them. They are what they are chiefly because of us. As against the conditions which created us, the conditions which create them differ in only one essential respect. The climate differs little; the soil is much the same; the only really important difference is that we had wiser and better parents than they. It would seem well, therefore, that we examine ourselves before prescribing a remedy. And the real issue appears, I think, in the remedy which has been proposed. The trouble is not apparently that children will not obey, for it is assumed that they will obey the drill-master. The complaint is that they will not obey *us*. And that of course admits of another explanation quite different from the one we have been giving. What is there in us that fails to command respect and obedience? Why is it that before us a younger generation does not yield its will and acknowledge its masters? In my own opinion, the greater part of the mystery lies here. We as a generation have become somewhat uncertain in our attitude, in our grip on life. We wish to be obeyed, but we do not know just what to command. And our children feel that uncertainty in us. And just because we are not quite sure what to command we are all the more determined that we shall be obeyed. Whether it be in the home, the church, the state, the business, we find our opinions changing, our points of view shaken. And as a result of it all there comes the rather hysterical tension between the two groups, the one demanding instant obedience and conformity, the other feeling instinctively

that those who give the commands are not sure of their wisdom, do not really expect or wish that they will be obeyed.

Now if this be really the source of our trouble, it is obvious that there is no quick and ready solution of the problem. Only as our grip on life becomes firmer, only as we work out a clearer and saner view of human values and procedures, will the ordinary relationship of old and young be reestablished. It will take a long time to do that and meanwhile we must labor at the task and wait for its completion.

But I fear that I am not after all minding my own business. Let me now hurry back and discuss directly this proposal that the drillmaster shall do for the teacher what the teacher has not been able to do for himself.

With many features of the proposal I find myself in hearty sympathy. I believe in discipline, in order, in obedience to what is worthy of it. And I am much attracted by the promise of proper physical development which the proposal offers. And again, the plan appeals to me because it involves "compulsion," gives us a required study. As against the scheme of election, it seems to me of vast importance that all our young people should be required to take certain common elements of training. But, on the other hand, there is room for choice by teachers as between required studies, and I am not at all convinced that this proposed choice is a wise one. May I state to you the questions which a schoolmaster would ask if such a requirement were proposed to him?

The plan is that all our young men shall be trained for military service. It may be presumed that this training is to be well given, that the young men will be in some important degree ready for military service when the training has been acquired. This would mean ultimately that all our young men of sufficient health and vigor would be available for use in the army in time of need. It has been estimated that it would render available a force of 8,000,000 or 10,000,000 men between the ages of 18 and 30. Now the first question which a schoolmaster would ask in the face of this suggestion is "Do you need an army of this size; is it a requisite of your military policy that you should have so many men as this available for service?" And I think he would say further, "If you do need such an army, you might to advantage take this necessity as a basis for educational procedure; if you do not need such an army, you could not possibly

establish a successful scheme of instruction upon it." It would not be a very promising venture to require attendance at the theological schools if there were to be no churches in which ministers might practise their art. Medical schools would, I think, lose something of their force and charm if there were no diseases in the human form. And in the same way, to attempt to build an educational procedure upon the creation of an army which by hypothesis is not needed or is not believed to be needed would in my opinion be folly and would end in futility. It would be to build teaching on fictions, and fictions are not so good material for the purpose as is truth.

In order to make sure of minding my own business, I ought to keep my statement in the hypothetical form. If you need such an army, you can teach by means of it; if you don't, you can't. But I have had much opportunity for asking experts on the subject whether or not such an army is needed and almost without exception they have answered in the negative. The opinion of the country must be in some measure represented by the bill just now passing through Congress and that bill is measuring, not in terms of millions, but of hundreds of thousands. And so again I say that, practically speaking, compulsory military training would be a lamentable failure as an educational procedure if it attempted to train up an army the need of which is not recognized by the people whose children are to be trained.

The argument I have tried to state is so easily misunderstood that I should like the privilege of restating it in another form.

Under what conditions of a school or college course may a given subject be made compulsory? It seems to me that two conditions must be met. It must be clear first that the course gives something which is essential to the purpose of the school or college, and second that the same value can not be secured in any other subject with equal success. I wonder if available evidence shows that military training does, in our American life, give better results in terms of obedience, discipline, precision, the sense of order and of obligation, than does non-military training. Are the graduates of our military schools better boys than those who come from other schools? As against that suggestion I would put in evidence the statement that apparently the overwhelming majority of our schoolmasters have been opposed to military teaching. Are the graduates of the state colleges which,

under the Morrill Act, have long had military training, better men and citizens than those of other colleges? As against that it is worthy of note that prior to the war at least other colleges which were free to choose had not deemed it wise to follow the lead of their sister institutions which were giving such training under compulsion. Are our soldiers and sailors better men, better citizens, in the ordinary relationships of life than are other men? I would not deny it, but I should hesitate to found a universal scheme of training upon it.

And, on the other hand, will not other subjects give the desired training as well as does the discipline of the soldier? Is it not possible to demand obedience in the classroom in English, to insist upon precision and order in mathematics, to require subordination of the individual to a common purpose in any classroom? If not, then I think the advocate of military training will find himself in a dilemma. Are we to understand that the virtues in question are to be practised under the direction of the drillmaster two or three hours a week or four or five weeks in the summer, but that for the remainder of the week or of the year they are to be lacking or ignored altogether? If the virtues in question can not be practised in other fields, then there is no value in getting them from the military exercises; if they can be practised in other fields, then there is no need of giving military training in order to secure them. The plain truth is that there is not one of the virtues under discussion which can not by proper teaching be as well developed in connection with the teaching of other subjects as under the guise of military training. If those subjects are not giving the virtues as well as we have a right to expect, then they are not properly taught. But the remedy for that is not the supplementing of bad teaching by good; it is the substituting of good teaching for bad in the field of those subjects which, for their own value, are chosen as proper parts of a school curriculum.

We arrive at the same conclusion in another way if we examine to see under what conditions military training has apparently given the virtues for which we seek. If it be granted that it has been of value in Europe as a compulsory system or at Plattsburg as a voluntary system, does it follow that it would be equally valuable in America as a compulsory system? Nothing seems more obvious than that it has been the necessity, the

sense of necessity, underlying the system in Europe, rather than the system itself which has given the results of which we hear so much. When a people like the Swiss, surrounded and hemmed in by undetermined forces, gathers itself together for the common defense, it may well be that every individual spirit, feeling the common danger, the common dread, yields itself up to it. And we have often been told that in the German schools and the German industries there is the same dominating pressure from a national impulse which leads and controls the individual as appears in the discipline of the army. We have heard it said that the German schoolmaster has drilled the nation quite as effectively as has the army officer. And on the negative side, the evidence is equally convincing. Whence comes the efficiency of the English navy? Every one deplores the individualism of the Briton, his refusal to submit to restraint and domination to which has been attributed his lack of an army. But he has had a navy, a navy which is perhaps the most successful weapon in the present war. And why has he had it and kept it so well? Simply because he has seen and felt the need of it, so that men have been willing to pay and to serve for the common cause. And in our own country we have not always found the connection between military establishments and military virtues a constant one. We have had pension scandals, and we are not sure that army expeditions have always been wisely made. Why is it? Simply because our hearts have not been in it. Rightly or wrongly, we have not felt the importance of military provisions, and so we have neglected them and have allowed to grow up briers as well as virtues in the military patch.

And again it would be very unfortunate if we should argue from the values of voluntary military service to the same values in compulsory service. A goodly number of our young men, inspired with enthusiasm for a cause, have taken the training of summer camps. And there can be no doubt that they have learned may valuable lessons (though I gather that the science of logic is not included in the curriculum). Any man who gives himself heart and soul and body to a cause will develop strength and loyalty and endurance. But it does not follow that he who does the same task unwillingly, whether lazily or because sober judgment condemns the work, will secure the same advantage. And the essential weakness of the proposal of compulsory

military training is just this—that it hopes to train our young men by compelling them to do something which the sober common sense of our people does not yet think it necessary to have done. Quite apart from the desirability of such a venture, whether in itself one approves it or not, as a piece of practical school teaching, it seems to me inevitably doomed to failure. The argument for it is based on false analogies. The virtues it seeks are well worth seeking, but the road suggested would not, I think, lead to them, but rather to national disappointment and regret.

I can not close without mention of one other analogy which seems to me just now to be leading us into confusion. Ever since William James began the search for the Moral Equivalent of War we have been seeking some activity which would fuse us together as a people just as the peoples of Europe are now become living flames of fury and zeal. "How," we have been asking, "shall we keep the virtues of the tiger, but let the tiger die?" And to this question one person may give one answer and another another, without noting a certain fallacy in the question itself. Is it not the plain truth that you can not have the virtues of the tiger unless you are the tiger, do as he does, feel as he feels, live as he lives? And it is my impression that most of these proposals for the integration of our national life are at this point begging the question. "How shall we achieve the unity of a European nation; by what machinery shall it be done?" It may be that it is not to be done at all, that it is a unity which we do not desire or at least for which we are not willing to pay the price which is demanded. We have not as a people lived in relations of attack and defense, of fear and hostility, with our neighbors. And if we are not to come into such relations we shall not develop the virtues which grow from them. But we have great tasks before us—the tasks of a nation's inner life, and here it is that our virtues as we develop them are to be found. I do not believe that by any great miracle this people is to be integrated, is to be fused into a single Will. A war might do it, but we hope that we shall not have a war. But lacking that we must win our unity not by some miracle of will, but by growing understanding of each other.

It seems to me that our hope lies not so much in the growth of a Will as in the development of a Mind, so that by our understanding of each other we shall learn to will together.

We are suffering, I think, from volitionism—the notion that if only you desire to do something and try to do it, you will find, first, that you can do it, and second, that it is worth doing. Against that volitionism, for the sake of balance, our schools and colleges must oppose intellectualism, the eagerness to know and to understand so that the right things rather than the wrong may be done.

MILITARY TRAINING AND PREPAREDNESS[1]

The writer of this article neither advises disarmament nor favors a frenzied haste to arm, believing that the former policy is still impracticable, and the latter, unnecessary and irrational.

It is conceded that the physical force at the command of the United States government should be adequate to cope with *probable* dangers, but there is no reason why we should prepare to meet every peril that the lively imaginations of alarmists conceive to be *possible*.

We should not be scared into hasty action. While the war lasts we have ample time for deliberate study of our needs for defense and adequate preparation for them. When the war ends, we shall doubtless be privileged to cooperate in reorganizing international relations upon a new and better basis. It is not impossible that, in a chastened spirit, both the voluntary and involuntary participants in this war will seek to organize the world for peace with justice under law. That will be the proper time to determine our policy respecting armaments, in accordance with the new conditions.

If all these plans fail, and the world staggers on toward more fratricidal struggles in the future, not one of the exhausted belligerents will wish to add to its list of active enemies the most powerful nation of the world in wealth and resources; so that, in any case, it is safe and wise for us to make haste slowly.

Any proposal to introduce military training, compulsory or voluntary, into the public schools should be unreservedly condemned. While indorsing any necessary strengthening of the militia organizations, we believe that such experience is unnecessary and unsuitable for childhood and youth.

1. The time of the public schools is already engrossed with

[1] From "Preparedness—for what?" by Charles H. Levermore. World Peace Foundation. 1915.

the duties for which the schools exist. They cannot safely or properly be asked to make room for military education, which is, like other studies of college grade, essentially a training for men by men. Discipline can be, and should be, instilled without it.

2. The commonly prescribed physical exercises are better adapted to the needs of youth than military training can possibly be.

3. Modern trench warfare has made battalion drill practically useless except for pageantry.

4. A majority of boys dislike the addition of military drill to their already crowded curriculum, and are on that account, as military men have regretfully noted, disinclined later to undertake militia service.

5. "Patriotism" has been, in the past, too much identified with military service. This misunderstanding of terms and of values would be aggravated by the requirement of military training in secondary schools, and would so much more surely inspire our people with an anti-social and anti-democratic philosophy of force.

We must not permit the brutal rush for world empire in Europe to dislodge us from the ways of peace. Reasonably securing our defense, and repudiating all ideas of aggression, we should resolutely adhere to the American principle that peace is the normal and war the abnormal thing, and that patriotism may render greater service in peace than in war.

The Boy Scout organization furnishes the kind of training and discipline that young boys need in personal sacrifice for the common good. In this country that movement has fortunately been kept free from the militarist influence, though much of the Boy Scout training is distinctly valuable to the prospective soldier.

Happily we are not and have never been a militarist nation. It is one of our greatest safeguards and blessings that our democracy has neither inherited nor developed the militarist spirit. To perpetuate our freedom we must preserve our education, our society and our public policy from the follies of competition in armament and from the lust of aggression. There have been occasions when American sentiment has been bitterly inflamed against England; but we have preserved peace with her for a hundred years because our country, in the words of Lord Bryce, is "free from a pernicious military caste which works such frightful evil in Europe, being indeed driven to desire opportunities for practicing the work for which the profession exists."

Only as we are faithful to our ideals of justice, which is the purest patriotism, and only as we embody these ideals with common sense in our national administration and our international relations, can we remain in a position to exert our influence and our strength in the councils of the nations for a world organization in the interest of permanent peace.

OBJECTIONS TO MILITARY TRAINING[1]

The utter inadequacy of any thorough military training in schools has been tacitly admitted by the advocates of preparedness, who have planned supplementary training in such things as summer camps and winter courses of correspondence. Even to the tyro in the study of the art of warfare as practised in our time, such plans are obviously ridiculous. Their adoption would mean merely one more futile and extravagantly expensive experiment in the long, unending series of experiments that have caused the squandering of hundreds upon hundreds of millions of dollars on our military and naval establishments during the past dozen years, yet which have left us, in the words of our military and naval experts, "absolutely unprepared."

How futile such experiments in the military training of school and college boys would necessarily be, may be estimated by a consideration of real warfare in the trenches, in superdreadnoughts and submarines, in airships and aëroplanes. We have heard much in the East recently of how they have solved the problem of military training in the schools out in the State of Wyoming. That system, which goes through the familiar "drilling" and rifle-practice, culminates in what is described as a marvelous dexterity in scaling walls.

Now, we may picture in our mind's eye a regiment of Wyoming youths carrying a defensive war against Germany into the enemy's territory. They cross the Atlantic with its mines and submarines and part of a continent bristling with intrenchments. "Somewhere in Germany" they would find at least two walled towns to be captured by them—not of great political or military value, but still provided with walls; and there they would find, also, a few forts, likewise provided with walls—and with other equipment as well. They would doubtless advance with all pos-

[1] From "Preparedness," p. 105-12, by William I. Hull, Professor of History at Swarthmore College. Revell. 1916.

sible bravery and with all possible perfection of goose-step and maneuver across the landscape towards the coveted wall. But before they could arrive within ten miles of it, some such machine as a 42-centimeter "Chubby Bertha," mounted on top of the wall or behind it, would hurl a lyddite shell, or a Zeppelin, hovering a mile or two in the air, would drop two tons of explosives, upon the gallant regiment and blow it into fragments. Were it not trifling with a grave subject, it might even be said that such a regiment of trained Wyoming youths would be but as dust in the balance against the Chubby Berthas of Essen. But this is running the theme into the ground.

Successful warfare in our time is in sober earnest a most complicated science and a most difficult art. It is a profession in itself, and the business of professionals. Shall this kind of professional training—the training to kill—be placed in our schools and given to children and youths before they have learned the art of living?

We will train our youths, not for the destruction of human life, the debasement of human character and the dethronement of civilization, but for all the constructive works of a true and beneficent civilization, not the least of which is a means for the judicial settlement of disputes between the nations. We will teach them, too, the indubitable truth that genuine military preparedness is by its very essence opposed to such civilization and judicial settlement; that it constitutes their chief obstacle; that they proceed along precisely opposite pahs of progress and retrogression, and that we cannot pursue them both.

It is truism, which is usually neglected in popular advocacy and consideration of preparedness, that we cannot have an army without officers, and that the larger the army the more numerous the officers.

The military academy at West Point, which has graduated about 5,000 officers in its century and more of existence, is to be increased in capacity as far as possible. But this would be far from sufficient, and various other plans are being advocated.

For example, General Wood recommended, when chief of staff in 1913, that 400 men should be selected each year from the graduating classes of institutions in which officers of the army give military instruction; the men thus selected to be commissioned as provisional second lieutenants in the regular army for a period of one year with full pay and allowances. Counting

those in Hawaii and Porto Rico, there are fifty-two of these "land-grant" colleges and universities, and sixteen similar institutions for the colored race; in these, there are about 27,000 students enrolled for military drill. From these then, General Wood's 400 could doubtless be obtained each year. But the discrepancy between 400 a year and the 40,000 officers needed, according to General Wood, to develop the volunteer strength of the army, is a large one and would take a century or so by this plan to overcome.

The training in these "land-grant" colleges, also, seems to be far from adequate. A graduate of one of them recently criticised it as follows: "The military training was taken very much as a joke by the great majority of students and discipline was almost zero. We had better discipline by far in the boys' brigade to which I had formerly belonged. . . . It is an uphill job at the best [to enlist the students' interest in military training], for they are there for another purpose and consider military drill and the study of tactics as a necessary evil."

Another plan is advocated by a United States Senator who proposes to convert several army posts "which have no particular strategic importance," into training-schools subordinate to West Point.

Another senator proposes to authorize the President to commission as officers of the reserve corps, not above the grade of colonel, such citizens as may qualify under the rules laid down by the Secretary of War. This plan is designed to recruit officers from men who have had training in the regular army or militia and retired to private life. These men are criticised, however, as having grown rusty in knowledge, skill and physique.

Another plan is embodied in a bill presented in the last session of Congress and approved by the House Committee on Military Affairs, which provides for the establishment in each state of a training-school with a capacity of not less than 300 students, and to which the state shall contribute $40,000 and the United States $80,000 yearly. By this plan it is estimated that 100 men would be graduated yearly from each of these schools, or 4,800 in all, and that within ten years we could procure by means of them nearly 50,000 officers from the reserve. That is to say, by the expenditure of some $50,000,000 at once, and an annual expenditure of $1,250,000 for ten years thereafter, we

might place our officers' reserve in 1925 where Germany's was in 1914.

Although the expense of such methods as these has no terror for our enthusiastic preparedness, they are entirely too slow for most of them who clamor to be prepared at once, lest the German foe should land upon our shores tomorrow. Hence the great outburst of effort to take a short cut to the desired end by the establishment of "summer camps," designed especially for the military training of college students during their long vacation.

In the summer of 1913, the War Department maintained two such camps, one at Gettysburg and one at Monterey, California. The next summer, the number was increased to four, and the camps were located at Asheville, North Carolina; Ludington, Michigan; Monterey, California, and Burlington, Vermont. This summer, the camps were again four in number, and were located at Chickamauga Park, Georgia; Plattsburg, New York; Ludington, Michigan, and the Presidio in San Francisco.

The number of men attracted to these camps thus far has not been very considerable—about 300 in 1913, 700 in 1914, and 1,000 in 1915, and the training they receive is confessedly only a beginning or less. As one military critic—a captain of infantry in the National Guard of Pennsylvania—puts it: "There are no short cuts to efficiency in the art of military science. The attempt to qualify men as officers by giving them a course during the summer of four weeks' instruction is absurd. They can't even get a smattering of the requirements. It would be the height of folly and suicidal to entrust the lives and health of the men to officers with much meagre training."

"You can make a volunteer soldier," says another critic, an officer in the regular army, "but you can't make a good officer in a year, any more than you can train a good lawyer or a good singer in a year."

The two summer camps established at Plattsburg, New York, in 1915, for business and professional men, have been subjected to the same criticism. They amount to little or nothing for real military training, is the verdict; even when followed up with "correspondence courses" during the winter, and with "upper classes" next summer for the graduates of this summer's course, they are still obviously inadequate. Their real purpose has been to serve as "the small end of a megaphone through which General Wood's words of military wisdom may penetrate to the uttermost ends of the land." This "military wisdom" is summed up

in the words of the General to his Plattsburg "rookies," as follows: "I hope that when you go away from here you will use your influence as good citizens, and, in contrast to that of the masses, by whom you should not be influenced, to help secure good legislation for the establishment of an adequate armament in this country."

The programmes for military preparedness which have been spread before the American people prove them to be wholly indefinite, purely theoretical, endlessly extravagant, and absolutely—in fact, ridiculously—inadequate.

But there must be no misunderstanding of the full significance and certain results of getting down to business on the military programme. If we give ourselves whole-heartedly to it, we must bid farewell forever to those American ideals of peaceful industry, of genuine education, of real democracy, and of international relations dominated by law and justice. The military powers of the Old World and of all history have shown us but too plainly by percept and example the necessary consequences to industry, education, democracy, and international morality, of a whole-souled devotion to a consistently "adequate" military programme.

THE SCHOOLS AND DEFENCE[1]

I shall be glad to be understood as being distinctly in favor of the proposition that as a nation we must go deliberately about the work of preparing ourselves completely for defence against a possible armed foe. Eighteen months ago, in common with perhaps most civilized men, I should have looked upon this question with something akin to abhorrence. We have learned, or should have learned, a lesson. In what proves to be the present state of international morality, it is clearly worse than futile to take any chances based on the belief that the immunity which we have enjoyed for a hundred years is destined to be perpetual.

I have quite clearly in mind certain things which I am convinced our public schools should not be called upon to do. In the first place, I think that we should not allow our higher educational institutions to become the chief medium of preparation for the national defence. Whatever is done should be genuinely

[1] By Henry C. Morrison, State Superintendent of New Hampshire. Journal of Education. 83: 93-4. January 27, 1916.

and completely democratic in its character. Everybody ought to bear his individual part in the common undertaking. This is essential, not only for outward defence but for the internal safety of American institutions. The wars of the past, and the present war, have shown how utterly vicious is any system by which the national military arm is largely recruited from a select class. Such a policy befits not a democracy. I do not look forward to a great war in which this country will have a part within a generation, especially if within the next few years we organize our resources. But if war should come, I think that nothing could be worse than to have the first line composed of the young men who are today students in our high schools and colleges. In the nature of things, they constitute on the whole the best material of their generation. In the event of need of their services, they must do their part with others, but only with others. For the sake of the national integrity, we should object most strenuously to the adoption of any policy which is likely, in the event of hostilities, to send them into the first line of defence as a class.

I strongly deprecate any headlong rush upon the part of our local authorities into plans for military drill, so called, in the high schools. No local school board can with propriety proceed to introduce what it calls compulsory military drill in the high school. I have very grave doubts that any school board has any legal right to do so, except with specific legislative authority. Military drill in the high schools would be the smallest part of any contribution which the young men there might make to the national preparedness. School men have seen far too much of sporadic enthusiasm for military drill, resulting in profitless disturbance of the school's activities for a brief period and ending with a few stands of muskets stored away in a corner of the school attic. It is not an edifying experience for either the boys or the public. Nor do we wish to see something loaded on to the public school system which will prove simply to be another in the long series of fads which the schools have been called upon to bear. Nor ought we to be under any delusions as to the educational character of military drill as such. It is not the best form of gymnastics. It is nowhere near the equivalent of sane athletics and it must be remembered that, in and of itself, it does not necessarily have any significance as an education in patriotism.

I think it will be unfortunate if any state commits itself to

any particular preparedness policy in advance of the formulation of a national program. Obviously, the whole question is primarily a question for the Federal Government to deal with and it will lead only to counsels of confusion if ill-considered plans are adopted by any state without due regard to their practical working out, and especially to their relation to a whole national scheme. Whatever is done with our institutions of learning, high schools and colleges, should be done thoroughly as a consistent part of a large program. Our school boards ought not to sanction the adoption of military drill in the schools until they know just what they are doing it for and what part each school has in the whole program, if indeed any part at all.

I think it may eventually be found that well-considered courses should be formulated for instruction in high schools by which it will become an accepted principle that preparation for military service in the highest sense is an essential and legitimate part of the education of every male. Such courses should probably embrace, roughly speaking, not only military drill so-called, but practical personal hygiene, sanitation, practical experience in learning how to care for oneself under conditions of camp life and, perhaps most important of all, segregation of the boys of a school under masculine instruction in conditions in which they can learn what I understand to be the all-important habit of military service, no less important in civil life, to wit: the habit of intelligent cooperation in perfect team work. I am distinctly of the opinion that the rising generation of boys ought to be taught, more than they are today, how to use fire-arms.

I should expect that eventually the program would include some field work during the school year and the organization of summer camps.

I can well understand that some such program as the above well thought out and matured by the cooperation of men who understand sympathetically the American boy and the youth might have very distinct educational values quite different from those looked for in mere parading in uniform and carrying a musket. But let us not cherish any delusions as to the educational part of the program. What we are looking for primarily is adequate preparation for the national defence, and let us not try to justify ourselves on educational grounds.

I am very earnestly of the belief that whatever is undertaken should be undertaken seriously and be made a serious business.

I should expect that meantime much could be done and much

useful knowledge accumulated by the utilization of the summer camp principle. This would, of course, be on a small scale. I am confident that under right leadership summer camps are an invaluable part of a boy's education. I am quite confident that many boys between the ages of fourteen and eighteen could be gathered together in such a camp or camps under right leadership and be taught how to handle themselves as organized bodies of men in the field.

MILITARY TRAINING IN SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES[1]

If military training simply means camp life, certainly it merits only commendation for its physical effects. I have myself spent too many days and nights under canvas during the last three decades not to appreciate that even a short experience of it makes close air impossible at any time during the twelve months of the year.

If any device could induce the American nation to breathe fresh air every day and night through fifty-two weeks of each year the problem of tuberculosis would be solved in a generation. We cannot get it into our school system too soon.

Again, if military training means only daily regular exercise, an ordered healthy life and simple habits, it deserves well of the country. Luxury, comfort, indulgence are the goals set before them by too many youths, and worry, responsibility and excitement destroy the nerve and heart power of too many men to value lightly any agency which will steady the habits and fortify the inner energies of those who are to do the world's work in this exacting generation.

But though military training does have these salutary effects, it is doubtful if, on the whole, it is the best means of securing them. The Boy Scouts have declared against it in this country, and even their great militant leader and organizer in England does not encourage its introduction. More and more the scientific physical trainers and educators are minimizing the rigid formal exercises of gymnasium drill whenever the free, joyous,

[1] From an address by Isaac Sharpless, President of Haverford College, delivered at the annual conference of the Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools of the Middle States and Maryland, November 26, 1915. Peace Association of Friends.

spontaneous open-air sports can be procured. The boy needs play, zest and competition, and not simply an uninteresting movement of the muscles.

Again, military instruction has moral values. The forced attention to tasks at the time they are due, though in some cases causing a reaction afterwards, in many others results in habits which stand well in life. The Oxford professors say that our Rhodes scholars have no steady ability to grind out a heavy and, in the process, uninteresting grist of mental sustenance. The West Point and Annapolis examiners throw out some three out of four candidates (coming from all the congressional districts of the United States, often set up as the result of competition) for deficiencies, not of intelligence but of steady drill. The great fault of our whole American system is the superficial attention to the interesting, rather than the thorough mastery of the essential. If military drill can cure this, again it deserves well of the country.

But are we not again confronted with the same problem as when we considered the physical side? Can a system enforced from the outside, demanding unequivocal attention at the expense of degradation and penalty, be all that is needed? Must there not be a training which brings a response from the student?

The unquestioning obedience demanded by the military code is hardly the remedy which America has ever submitted to, nor will she ever submit to it, until the principles of our founders and fathers are forgotten and their spirit deserts us.

The sons of men who came over in privation and peril to find freedom of conscience will hardly submit to a national fettering of individual consciences. The sons of men who in various ways fought for the assertion that "All men are born free," will hardly allow their sons to fall victims to an education which will make them slaves in any degree, in body or spirit, to a cruel system. General military training in the schools with all that this implies, introduces into the life of the American nation an element and a principle antagonistic to those free institutions and to the democracy upon which we have always considered that our claim to a standing among the nations is securely based, and would be the beginning of a set of new national ideals and standards, which the present experience of certain European nations hardly commends to us.

If we lack, as we do, in our education certain methods and impulses which would tend to make it vigorous and efficient, if we sacrifice solid mental training for superficial knowledge of interesting items, let us in the first place *recognize the fact,* which as yet we hardly do. Let us find the remedy as we can in an education of the people to demand what is worth while rather than what is "practical" (as they often falsely express it), and in the courage of educators to stand for what they know is right, sometimes against the popular voice, not in the overturning of our most valuable and cherished traditions. Prussia has no lack of thorough training and disciplined scholars, and yet with all her militaristic ideas, she excludes military training from her schools as having no place there.

If needed one could quote dozens of authorities on this subject. "Military drill seems to me one of the poorest forms of bodily exercise, very inferior to most gymnastic exercises and to all free sports," says ex-President Eliot. "My principal objection to military drill as a physical exercise," says Dr. Sargent, "is that it does not to any extent meet the physiological demands of the body." To see a green playground covered with boys at sport is the ideal of physical exercise. Supplementary to this and, unfortunately in some cases necessarily a substitute for it in large cities, is a well-considered scientific system of physical training in-doors, a system which takes into consideration individual weaknesses and needs, which embraces all that military training gives and much more, and which better prepares the body to withstand the strain of after-life.

We have also protests from the head of the New York Public School System and the head of the Pennsylvania Public School System, during the current year, against the introduction of military drill in the public schools. The United States Commissioner of Education has declared: "The public schools are not the place to give this training and preparation," and Professor John Dewey, speaking especially of rifle practice, says: "It is undemocratic, barbaric and scholastically wholly unwise."

But there are other reasons for the present agitation of this subject than its fitness for educational purposes and its development of the attributes of American manhood, otherwise girls as well as boys should receive its benefits. It is a part of the general policy of preparedness for actual warfare into which the present suddenly aroused sense of danger has plunged the coun-

try. It may be that I am what is called a peace-at-any-price man, though the words do not seem to me exactly descriptive of my attitude. It is possible also that I am a "mollycoddle," though there again uncertainty as to definition makes me hesitate to appropriate the honor. I confess I cannot see the near danger. There is *some* risk, as there is of an earthquake in Philadelphia. But it is a balance of small risks against certain large evils, and I am inclined to take the risks. These risks can be greatly reduced by measures which are wholly wholesome. Tell our boys that this nation must ever pride herself on her rigid and even generous enforcement of treaties, on the absence of all aggressive tendencies which seem to covet territory or commercial advantages at the expense of weaker states, on the decent and honorable treatment of foreigners within our borders, that we will not unconsciously prepare for a time when an accident of politics puts into a chair of power a man of aggressive will and militant tendencies, that the moral standards of the nation and of a man in civil society are not widely divergent, that the protection of national honor rests with ourselves, and is independent of what others may do. Can we make the ten million boys feel the full throes of a patriotism abounding in self-sacrifice for the good of humanity, can they believe that the glory of America consists not in the might of her destructive agencies, but in a leadership in good will and beneficence? Create such a national consciousness as this, which will not breed competitive armaments elsewhere which we in turn will have to match, and the dangers of attack are vastly reduced. Take the cost of one battleship and put into the field a few thousand teachers and lecturers, such as boys like to listen to and you have no mean insurance against hostile intent. More than that, you start a movement which will pacify the world.

There is more room for confidence in justice and generosity and righteousness than we usually appreciate. Things come out better than we expect. There is an inherent strength in the right whether for individuals or nations. It is shown in our unprotected northern frontier; in the first three-quarters of a century of the history of this province, in Finland under the heel of a despotism, but which through her schools and churches keeps alive her national spirit and ideals; even in China, which we so often hear spoken of in terms of kindly contempt, but which for

5,000 years has measurably preserved her territorial integrity while many warlike nations have risen and perished.

Other considerations which readily occur to any one which reduce the risk are our geographical position, the importance of our commercial relations with all the world, the fact that Europe and Asia are exhausting their resources in men and treasures to the point of a breakdown. One begins to doubt whether our contagion of militancy has a sufficient basis to last, or rather, whether like all emotional movements, there will not follow a reaction, which will make us see a few years hence what foolish things were done in the fervor of our new departure.

It will require a very urgent cause and very large risks to excuse the introduction into our national life, through the schools, of the military ideal, from which we have been free in the past. We may thank the American spirit for the poise of many of the advocates of preparedness, including the major-general of the army. Wars *have* come to us, none, however, as the result of the attack of any other nation to procure something they did not have before. They came at our invitation. I am willing to trust to the same agencies which have operated in the past, if we do our full duty, to care for us in the future, against other attacks from outside.

But if wars may not reach us the spirit of warfare is with us now in some of its most malignant forms. The European nations are baptized in suffering. They are learning its lessons, and John R. Mott, who has just been among them, tells us that never before have the men who occupy the trenches on both sides of the line been so seriously concerned about the things of the spirit. The men will be apostles of peace henceforward. But *we* are enjoying a triumphant materialism based on the instruments of human destruction that we are sending abroad. Residents of two cities which contain munitions plants have told me within a few days of the wild orgy of speculation in war stocks into which the young men and boys have plunged, and these cases are not alone. Men are openly and gaily hoping that the war will last longer, that their profits may be still further multiplied. The time of reckoning may come, will surely come to some, when the inflation will burst, as did the South Sea bubble and the lottery system of our own country a century ago. Labor troubles, the disarrangement of the old

industries, the creation of a number of new millionaires of unsavory reputation, the strain of readjustment, all these are our outlook, and may be our proper chastisement. What schools and colleges should hold most dear, the triumphs of intellect, the quiet quest of truth and right, the exaltation of the spiritual over the material, are pushed aside by the wild scramble for unholy gains.

The triumphs of peace, not of war, are our texts, and the method of peace and justice the ideals for our boys in school.

One cannot but honor the impulse which prompts men to give up the comforts of home, the prospects of business and the satisfaction of an ordered life, and from the sense of duty or patriotism accept the risks of battle and the monotony, or worse, of trench life. It is an impulse which may well be made an inspiration to school and college youth. But these impulses exist outside the martial field. When men get together in military camps, with all the contagion of talk and action, the drill and the uniforms, this wholesome feeling for a life of service involving sacrifice and danger operates to send them into the army on the least excuse. But if the contagion could point in other directions against the enemies of humanity and not fellow beings, if other causes could be advertised and other fields of risk and usefulness pointed out, then young men who really felt the call to dangerous service, and not merely the love of adventure and the lure of glory, would enlist as good soldiers in the employ of beneficent enterprises. For, as the author of Tom Brown says, "There is no good for Quakers or any other body of men to uplift their voices against fighting. Human nature is too strong for them and they don't follow their own precept. Every soul of them is doing his own piece of fighting somehow and somewhere."

Give this incentive to our young men in effective measure, tell them the risks and rewards of unknown efforts for sanitation and livable conditions in the homes of the poor, of the Red Cross work on the fields of battle into which not a few Englishmen and some Americans have voluntarily gone, of the successful fight against disease of American doctors in Serbia, of the political martyrdom which a combat against corrupt agencies not infrequently brings, of the financial loss often involved in a brave and effective public service, of the life of the missionaries apart from home and friends and physical comforts in

lands abroad, and you may arouse and direct energies as potent, take risks as bravely, secure results as permanent, and fill out the measure of life as faithfully as ever soldier did on the battlefield, in a contest against men with the same fidelity to duty as himself.

It is true that some men who have preached the doctrine of peace have done it in a purely negative way, shorn of any contagious enthusiasm for active duty. Some of them have seemed to shelter themselves in safety under their consciences while others fought for them. Such an example will not go far in a community of generous youth. But there have been some who have suffered the extremes of bodily injury and ignominy rather than yield their convictions; to whom the far easier path would have been to satisfy the martial demand; who if not "too proud to fight," have been too brave to fight. If the campaign for military instruction shall induce preachers and teachers to proclaim a vigorous propaganda for patriotic and humanitarian service, full of danger and rewards, for moral purposes by moral methods, it will not have been in vain.

SHOULD THERE BE MILITARY TRAINING IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS?[1]

There are, I suppose, as many definitions of what the American ideal of democracy is as there are theories about the tariff. Most people are agreed, however, that it is the very opposite of autocracy and militarism. Ask any one of the many thousands upon thousands of immigrants from military-ridden Europe as to why he came to this land of opportunity, and he will tell you, among other things, that it was because to him America meant the land of individual liberty; the "land of the free and the home of the brave"; because he wants his progeny to grow up free from the crushing burdens of military service and war taxes that so stifled individual initiative in the old country.

If we are all taking sides one way or the other, our technical neutrality notwithstanding, because we want to see the world freed from the military ideal, is it not just a little bit inconsistent, to say the least, to want to enthrone that ideal in the very

[1] From article by Louis P. Lochner. Advocate of Peace. 77: 219-21, 249-50. October and November, 1915.

cradle of liberty, the American public school? Are we to be regarded as sincere if we ourselves do not practice what we preach? If Prussianism is an undesirable thing, then why instil it in the hearts of our youth?

It is a current statement in the trenches of Europe that this is really an old men's war; that the splendid young men of this generation are forced to fight for ideals of an older generation, for ideals which they no longer share. John R. Mott, Jane Addams, and others who have been abroad tell us that the young men vow that when this war is over they will see to it that their new ideals of international cooperation supersede these older notions. Are we to be more backward than the man in the trenches? While Europe is bitterly regretting that it ever succumbed to the military ideal and is pathetically trying to shift the blame for this war one upon the other, shall we adopt that outworn ideal in our presumably up-to-date educational system by installing military training? Even the Prussian educational system does not provide for military instruction in the common schools. Shall we outdo Prussia?

Let us not be misled by those who try to make out how innocent the idea of military training is. Ramsay Macdonald well pointed out the dangers of militarism in a recent speech in Birmingham. Said the distinguished member of Parliament:

> Great Britain is nearer militarism than ever it has been in its existence. Of course, people say it is only temporary, but let them not make any mistake about that. When they go into militarism for temporary purposes they have to abandon the view which is at war with militarism. If they submit to conscription in any shape or form now, the arguments in favor of conscription will continue after peace.

And so it will be with the idea of military training in public schools. At first it will be a voluntary matter for the children. Then it will be compulsory. Then it will be extended into the high schools, the colleges, and the universities in ever-increasing measure. Soon it will appear advisable that the young men who are unable to go beyond the grammar school be given the same opportunity for "patriotic" service that their more fortunate comrades have at the high school or college, and workingmen's and business men's military training will be provided. Do you not see whither we shall then be drifting—whither, in fact, we are already drifting? A few legislators controlled by gun-makers and munitions manufacturers, a few big papers subsidized or at

least swayed by the same influences, a potential enemy dangled long enough before our eyes—and conscription is only a question of time. And once conscription is introduced—well, I let General Leonard Wood speak. Said the General in the course of one of his recent attempts to militarize our colleges and universities, "If we had conscription in this country, it would stop all this pacifist talk in twenty-four hours."

But perhaps I am seeing things in too pessimistic a light. Supposing military training in public schools were an unqualified blessing to the youngsters taking it. Still I would oppose it, particularly at this time of international unrest. In our modern state of inter-dependence, no nation any longer lives unto itself. Whatever is said or thought or done in one part of the universe becomes part of the world thought or the world mind. Even war among so-called civilized nations is no longer possible between two isolated countries, but, as we now learn by horrible example, has become so internationalized as to draw a dozen countries into the holocaust.

It follows that any new governmental policy, especially a military one, introduced in one country is bound to be felt throughout the world. We have abundant proof that this is true. When our fleet sailed around the world to show everybody we could "lick them to a frazzle," it became responsible for the inflated naval programs of several South American sister republics. Our huge military appropriations make similar appropriations in Japan almost inevitable, and Japan has no money to pay for them —only debt. When the German Emperor decades ago uttered his famous "Unsere Zukunft liegt auf dem Wasser" (our future lies on the waters), he brought about an almost revolutionary realignment of the European powers, and soon converted the traditional enmity between France and England into friendship. When France, two years ago, in "self-defense" against outside threats, extended her military conscription period from two to three years, she drew out an instant response from Germany in that that country levied a heavy income tax upon her rich people, so as to swell her "defensive" war chest. When Russia showed special signs of activity in the Baltic region, the Swedish people implored their king to increase the armaments of their country. And so on. The military program of one country is invariably bound up with that of the whole civilized world.

Any one with any imagination whatever can foresee what

would happen if the most cherished shrine of liberty and democracy, the American school-house, were to become infested by the military ideal. The world, already sorely shaken in its faith in the peace ideal, would see its last ray of hope disappearing. A wave of militarism scarcely less calamitous in its potentialities than the great war itself would follow. The laborers, the socialists, the religionists, the men of good will everywhere who in their respective countries have been pointing to our unfortified frontier of 3,800 miles on our northern boundary, to our arbitration and "cooling-off"—or one year's delay—treaties, to our freedom from land militarism, and to our comparative "unpreparedness" as living demonstrations of the better way, will go down in defeat before the jingoes when America, too, succumbs to the ideal of force.

Do the educators of America want to take upon themselves the tremendous responsibility of helping our country become a prime factor in perpetuating the system that has been the undoing of Europe? Not if I read aright the history of American education. The American teacher has always been arrayed on the side of progress. He will not fail us in these troubled times, even though all the forces of darkness are at work to draw us off the path of truth and light.

It is not an easy task to stand out boldly against the efforts to drag patriotism down to the level of the war system. It is far more popular to cry "preparedness" and to denounce peace propaganda than it is to remain sane and calm in the knowledge that the world will not forever remain at sixes and sevens, but that ultimately the reaction must set in and a period of soberness must follow. To be a pacifist nowadays is to incur the stigma of "moral flabbiness," of "degeneracy in moral fiber," of "physical and moral cowardice," to cull but a few choice phrases from the vocabulary of those who would rush us into war.

But do not let that worry us. As a dear old German professor said to me in Berlin last May, when we were discussing the grave world situation: "Our time, too, is bound to come, despite all that you see round about us. And then I look forward to our young men and women from the universities, to our teachers and educators to take the lead in ushering in the era of a world united, of cooperation where there is now antagonism, of mutual understanding and good will."

One of our best-known Americans has said: "Not once in a

thousand years is it possible to achieve anything worth achieving except by labor, by effort, by serious purpose, and by *willingness to run risks.*" May the people of good will everywhere not look in vain to the American teacher to accept willingly the risk of unpopularity in setting himself or herself like a wall of adamant against the attempt to militarize our priceless heritage, the free, liberty-inspiring public school.

I am aware that in the foregoing I have not proposed the alternative. I have not advanced a constructive substitute for military training; but it is hardly necessary for me to do so. The American School Peace League is constantly keeping before the teachers of America the necessity of teaching history from a new viewpoint; of fostering the ideal that man-saving is far more heroic and honorable than man-killing; of inculcating a patriotism that shall include the world; of making the children international minded; of bringing them to a realization of the fact that, as Doctor Jordan has so well stated it, "the great political and moral struggle of the next fifty years—bloodless, we hope—will not be between nation and nation, but between militarism and freedom."

TEACHING THE HORRIBLE SCIENCE OF WAR IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS[1]

Mr. Speaker, to make a law to provide for military instruction in our public schools, as Congress has done, may be promoting patriotism, but I do not think so. To establish military drill in our schools is to introduce dangerous tendencies which are in direct opposition to the moral and political ideals which our schools are primarily intended to develop.

I have a sincere sympathy for the many conscientious teachers and parents in this country who desire to help our boys and who believe that patriotism should be encouraged at every opportunity. Yet I am sure that military instruction for the boys in our public schools in practical operation is not a moral factor, but the reverse. According to the published statements of many prominent educators, military instruction in public schools does not improve the national health or foster the discipline that is wanted. The most satisfactory discipline for boys is that which is today

[1] Extension of remarks of Charles H. Randall, of California, in the House of Representatives, May 23, 1916. Congressional Record. 53: 9687-9, May 23, 1916.

being obtained in many excellent schools without the temptations and moral damage of military associations. The training of children in military ideals, however well intended, is a retrograding step. It tends to lure them from gainful pursuits toward illusive militarism.

Militarism and a republican form of government can not exist in the same country. This country was established as a protest against political oppression, and since that time the politically oppressed of every country have had a welcome at our shores. I do not believe that the people of this country—the great masses—are yet ready to reverse the principles upon which the foundation of our country rests and establish a militarism that can only mean the building of a despotism in this country like that which the men with "the spirit of 1776" fought eight long years to put down.

Much has been said about the wonderful military preparedness of Germany, but Germany has not taught the boys in her schools to kill. Shall we out-Prussia Prussia? Militarism is the same the world over—first ingratiating, next seductive, then remorseless. Give military advocates an inch and they will take a mile You never know how far they will go.

Military instruction in our public schools may appeal to some people. But this thing has been tried, and we have only to go to Australia to see how it works and how it has worked disaster. To learn how military instruction in the schools has worked is to convince one that it is a bad and dangerous thing to undertake here. Wonderful things have been told about the success of compulsory military training of boys of fourteen years and upwards in Australia, but these wonderful things have been told by the promoters of a militarism.

The training in Australia is claimed by some of its advocates to be different from conscription, but in practical operation it seems to be conscription purely and simply. The defense act of New Zealand of 1909 was made possible by the agitation of the National Defense League and by influences originating in England. The visit of the United States fleet to Australia resulted in a great wave of military enthusiasm spreading over that land, and one of the developments connected therewith was the demand to arm. The result of a combination of circumstances, seized by the militarists to their own aggrandizement "without any reference to the will of the people," and backed at first by some well meaning educators, was that the men of those coun-

tries put their defenseless boys under military discipline to which the voters would not themselves pretend to submit in times of peace.

The Melbourne Age, of February 18, 1914, in an article citing some of the hardships connected with the training camps, tells of how a medical examination revealed numerous cases of acute dilation of the heart, and so forth. Noted American educators have declared that athletics as free sports for growing boys are infinitely preferable to the constrained positions connected with drill and handling a gun.

I am convinced that the moment we begin to direct the minds of our youth in the direction of war, just at that moment we have put the country on the road toward the final establishment of a militarism that will destroy the liberty and the patriotism about which we talk so much today.

Patriotism is the love of one's home and one's country. Patriotism cannot be shot into men with guns, nor can it be drilled into boys on parade grounds under drillmasters whose iron hand deny to the youth both love and liberty. Before New Zealand came under the iron heel of militarism the only person who could inflict a fine upon anyone was a magistrate; but today a military officer can impose fines on the boys under his care at his own sweet will, and, what is more serious, can cause the fine to be collected by a policeman out of the boy's wages, if the boy works for wages. That is militarism; that comes of providing for military instruction in public schools; for the military man insists that there must be discipline, and he must have unlimited authority to enforce discipline in such ways as he may deem proper.

There are no more patriotic people on earth than our citizens. From the foundation of the country to the present hour the United States has never had occasion to be ashamed of the spirit of its citizens when duty called, and they never will. Let the battle drum and the bugle be sounded in the defense of our country today, and there will be such a response from our men as will startle the world. The American needs no compulsion to make him patriotic. What we need to do is to safeguard and to consider well the rights of our individual citizens, and in direct ratio as we do this will we cause patriotism to increase and put the honor of our nation on a higher plane.

Every American citizen considers himself a man, and he resents the idea of having to be bound hand and foot to do a thing which, left to himself, he would do anyway. No great

army advocate need for a moment be afraid that the American people will hesitate when their country needs them in any just cause. So long as our national course is straight ahead according to the ideals upon which our country was founded no one need think that our people will not be ready to answer to their names the very moment they are needed.

I do not believe for a moment that there is an American citizen who is for peace at any price. Those who jest about men who want "peace at any price" are no friends of our country. They make a cheap play upon the prejudices and mad passions of men in order to promote a program for a large armament and a militarism that will endanger the safety of the republic. Ridicule is a powerful weapon when skillfully used, and I know of no greater bit of ridicule that has been hurled at the people of this country than the accusation that they want "peace at any price." That phrase is an insult to American manhood and to American citizenship.

Let us not transform our public schools into incipient West Points and incubators for militaristic ideas. Let us direct the minds of our youth in the direction of peace and good citizenship, for the better our citizens are the safer is our Republic and the stronger becomes our national honor and prestige. Military instruction in our public schools will not make better citizens. It will not give the boys any conception of the duties of real war. For if the people of the country who are now so enthusiastic for this military program could know what they are actually proposing, I am sure there would be a sudden abatement in this propaganda.

MILITARY TRAINING IN SCHOOLS[1]

Harrisburg, Pa., Feb. 10, 1916.

To Superintendents, Principals and Teachers.

In view of the fact that legislation is pending in the United States Senate more drastic than the militarism of the countries now at war, I take the liberty of sending you some literature on the introduction of military drill into our schools and colleges. Senate Bill 1695, introduced by Senator Chamberlain, of California, provides that all persons between twelve and twenty-three

[1] Letter sent by Nathan C. Schaeffer, Superintendent of Public Instruction, to the teachers of Pennsylvania. Pennsylvania Arbitration and Peace Society. 1916.

years, inclusive, must submit to military drill under penalties ranging from twenty-five to five hundred dollars, and twenty days' imprisonment. It makes an exception in favor of members of well-recognized religious organizations whose creed forbids participation in war; but no protection is afforded to the thousands of others or their parents who are conscientiously opposed to military drill and training for killing.

In Australia military drill becomes obligatory at the age of fourteen, and in New Zealand at the age of sixteen. In these countries thousands of boys have been thrown into military prisons, where they came in contact with undesirable characters and without any of the safe-guards which the home throws around its children. After her defeat in the war of 1870-1871, France introduced military drill into the schools. More than two decades ago this was dropped from the curriculum, and the uniforms and other expensive accoutrements were sold at auction. That this was not a mistake is evident from the account which the French soldiers are giving of themselves in the trenches.

Germany has relied upon gymnastics in the schools to develop the strength and endurance which the soldier needs. Dr. Angerstein, a high authority in army circles, pronounces it a physiological crime to introduce military drill into the schools.

Since gymnastic drills and other exercises are employed to counteract the one-sided physical development which drill with guns produces, the inference is sometimes drawn that gymnastics and military drill are synonymous terms. Did any one ever claim that dancing is military drill because it is used as part of the setting-up exercises in some military schools? It is possible to introduce and maintain a rational system of physical education without the drill with guns.

A company of one hundred soldiers requires thirteen commissioned and non-commissioned officers; a regiment requires 130 officers, and a million soldiers require 130,000 officers.

Since there are more than twelve million male persons in the United States between the ages of twelve and twenty-three, the proposed legislation would give us more than one and a half million military officers in a country devoted to the arts of peace. Who can foretell the ultimate effects of such a policy or system after it has been fastened upon the youth of our land?

Very sincerely,

NATHAN C. SCHAEFFER.

MILITARY TRAINING IN SCHOOLS[1]

Open letter sent to the members of the New Jersey Senate in March, 1916, protesting against the enactment of the Assembly bill which had then been passed in the lower house requiring military training in the public schools.

As an educator, I wish to ask you to refuse to enact this measure.

I wish to protest in the first place against the general feeling that every uplift movement and every remedial agency must be put into operation through the schools. I am led to believe that the purpose of Assembly Bill No. 280 is not permanently to improve the character of the work of the public schools. Rather it shows the haste of an excited mind to do something quickly to further the general program of preparedness.

The striking thing about the passage of this bill is not that legislators have been willing to inject into our schools a new and disturbing element, the full force of which no one has undertaken to measure. The striking thing is rather that legislators should have been satisfied with so meager a program of preparedness. Too often we are inclined to "let George do it," and in this instance "George" is a schoolboy.

If war is imminent, it would have been much more sensible for the members of the Assembly to have asked themselves what they know about trench digging, firing of shrapnel, use of machine guns, throwing hand grenades, manufacture of liquid fire and chlorine gas, the management of aeroplanes, submarines, superdreadnoughts, etc., etc., and to have passed a bill compelling them and other adults of military age, and not the children, to acquaint themselves with the hellish arts of modern warfare.

The example of other countries is quoted frequently just now in defense of the injection of military training in the public schools. I have heard intelligent men say that the example of Germany proves not only the value but the necessity of such training. In the first place, Germany's military training is in no way connected with her public schools. Military training in Germany does not begin until the boy has left school and has

[1] By William A. Wetzel, Principal of the Trenton High School. From "Military training in the Public Schools." Pamphlet. American School Peace League. 1916.

become a man. In the second place, Germany's military efficiency is simply an incident in the general program of Germany's efficiency. Germany is efficient in her public life, in her commerce, in her industries, in her schools, in all her activities, because organized thought underlies all these activities.

Other men cite Switzerland to prove that we should have compulsory military training in our schools. Much can be learned from the Swiss program of preparedness. But the first thing that one learns in a study of this system is that here again there is no contact at all between the schools and military training. Shooting is the national pastime of Switzerland, just as baseball is our national sport, and there are some voluntary, not compulsory, military organizations among Swiss schoolboys, held together by this national pastime. But the military training of the Swiss youth does not begin until he is twenty years old. At that age he is subjected to a rigid examination, both physical and mental. It is most humiliating to a Swiss to be rejected for this service. If he fails in the mental examination only, which includes reading, writing, arithmetic and a thorough knowledge of Swiss geography and history, he must enter an evening school at once to make up such deficiency. The recruit in his first year must devote from sixty to ninety days to hard military service. He must repeat this service in terms of about two weeks, seven or eight times, before he reaches the age of thirty-two. Between thirty-two and forty he must take one more repetition course lasting eleven days. All Swiss military training is of a serious nature, out of doors, among the mountains, and not in a drill hall. There are no "show" drills or Sea Girts in Switzerland. Necessarily, the participants in such severe exercises are men and not boys. To be sure, there is a sound physical training in the schools underlying all this, but it is not of a military character.

Other countries, like France, Austria-Hungary, Italy, Russia, Japan, provide efficient military training. In none of these countries is this training given through the schools, nor does it begin under twenty years of age.

As far as I know, Australia is the only country that includes schoolboys in its program of compulsory military training. The system has not been in operation long enough to form a judgment as to its value. But already most discouraging reports come from that country. It has already been necessary in many

instances to put into full operation an elaborate system of fines and imprisonment to exact military service from its boys.

The only system of military training for boys to receive any official recognition in our country is the so-called Wyoming plan. This plan has received the approval of the War College at Washington. Much could be said against the general adoption of this plan. It is sufficient to say at this time that it is entirely voluntary and not compulsory in Wyoming.

I believe that the city boy may well be brought into contact with a more virile life than that of the average school room and that some kind of community service may well be demanded of all our youth before they arrive at the age of twenty-five years. But the present time, with the minds of most of us excited about war, does not seem to be opportune to work out such a constructive program.

I believe that the enactment of Assembly Bill No. 280 would cause the city of Trenton to spend about $5,000 of public money without accomplishing any good either to the children or to the State.[1] For this reason I feel justified in asking that you refuse to pass this measure.

MILITARY TRAINING IN OUR PUBLIC SCHOOLS: TWELVE OBJECTIONS[2]

1. The school courses are already too full, therefore no other subjects should be added. This objection is sustained by Prof. John Dewey of Columbia University, one of America's highest educational authorities.

2. Military training has not enough educational value to replace any subject that rightfully belongs in the school courses of study. This objection is approved by Prof. John Dewey, President Henry Churchill King of Oberlin College, ex-President Charles W. Eliot of Harvard University, ex-Governor Charles E. Hughes now of the United States Supreme Court, and ex-Secretary of State General John W. Foster.

3. The supposed benefits of military training can be secured more effectively by other means, viz.: The gymnasium, outdoor

[1] Bill No. 280 was defeated by a vote of thirteen to six in the senate.
[2] By Robert Cromwell Root, Pacific Coast Director of the American Peace Society, 1916. Pamphlet. Also in Advocate of Peace. 78: 109-10. April, 1916.

games and athletics. This statement is supported by such expert testimony as that of Dr. Dudley Sargent, head of the Hemenway Gymnasium, Harvard University, Prof. Reichart of the University of Pennsylvania, Dr. Nathan C. Schaeffer, State Superintedent of Schools, Pennsylvania, and by Prof. Charles Zueblin. Moreover, the supposed benefits of military drill are due not to the system, but to the personality of the particular instructor.

4. The regulations generally, if not invariably, used in military drill were prepared for adults and not for boys. The California Law of 1915 states that U. S. Army regulations are to be used in drilling high school cadets. This is manifestly an absurd requirement. Furthermore, teachers who have had experience in military schools tell me that the boys often resort to deception and outright lying in order to avoid the harsh punishment inflicted for violation of the strict military discipline.

5. The girls, even more than the boys, need the physical development supposed to be derived from military training; but the system thus far in use wholly ignores this greater need of the girls. This objection is sustained by such authorities as ex-President Charles W. Eliot, President Henry Churchill King, Professor John Dewey and Professor Samuel T. Dutton of Teachers' College, Columbia University.

6. For all except a few officers in command, military training develops a blind, unthinkable obedience. "Their's not to reason why, Their's but to do and die," *pitiable* "Six Hundred"! For the rank and file, military training represses individuality (ex-President Charles W. Eliot) and self-initiative (H. Carrington, Review of Reviews, February, 1916, p. 234-235) in the boys at the very time these qualities should be developed; hence, for the rank and file, military drill prepares the boys to be mere imitators and automatons instead of self-reliant leaders of their fellow-men.

And since military training, as the authorities quoted state, has not enough educational value to replace any other subject, and since the supposed benefits may be effectively secured by other accessible, practical means, and since one-half of the school population is wholly ignored by this system, it therefore seems to be perfectly clear that the educational value of military training is practically nil, and should have no place in our school courses.

7. To adopt military training in our schools would be con-

trary to our national traditions and national ideals; therefore it would be undemocratic and un-American. It would out-Prussianize Prussia, for neither the Prussians nor Germans have as yet been so steeped in militarism as to burden their regular schools with the incubus of military training.—Professor John Dewey, Dr. Nathan Schaeffer and President John H. Findley of New York State University.

8. To establish military drill in our schools would, in the boy's mind, place emphasis on might and not on right. It would very strongly imply that might should be the first instead of the last line of defence. The writer has seen proof of this in pupils now taking military training in certain California schools.

9. Military training in the public schools fosters a spirit of suspicion and distrust of other nations. Acting on the fictitious plea of "National Necessity," a "National Enemy" must be found. This engenders international hatred—a long step toward war. Dr. Nathan C. Schaeffer, Professor Reichart, Edward Berwick. Note also sundry "Preparedness" plans of 1916.

10. Military training in the public schools is not necessary in order to teach patriotism or to provide for national defense. Military training may lead to efficiency on the parade ground or to skill at target-practice, but it does not develop, necessarily, the spirit of patriotism. Real patriotism is of the spirit—a quality of mind and heart—hence it is not acquired by evolutions on the drill ground or by shooting at a target. True patriotism grows out of character. It requires a patriot to live a clean, strong life for his country quite as much as it requires him to be ready to die in defense of his country. "We can no longer look to war for the development of either national or individual character"—Charles E. Hughes, Professor I. W. Howerth, Professor of Education, University of California.

The past experience of England, Germany, and the United States, not to mention other countries, shows how unnecessary and foolish is the plea for military drill in our public schools on the ground of "national defense."

11. The moral danger. The laws of the community and of the state forbid the boy to carry arms. He knows that the man who assaults his fellowman with a deadly weapon is tried in court for his liberty or his life. He goes to Sunday school and learns the command "Thou shalt not kill." He attends church and hears that he "must do unto others as he would have others

do unto him," and then he joins the cadet corps and is trained with gun and sword in the art of killing his fellow-men! Then we wonder why our boys have such hazy ideas on moral questions! And we wonder why our boys are so often lacking in clear vision, clear reasoning, and right acting! God pity and help us to see the wrong we are inflicting on the youth of the land by advocating military training for mere boys!—Professor G. M. Stratton, "The Double Standard in Regard to Fighting."—Dr. David Starr Jordan.

12. The school system and the war system have nothing in common. We should be unalterably opposed to military drill in our public schools because it would join in close partnership the finest thing that American civilization has given to humanity—our free public schools, the hope of democracy—with war, the most barbaric, inhuman and un-Christian system which a cruel fate ever inflicted upon a struggling world.

Let us teach our boys that law and order must replace war, and the "golden rule" and cooperation replace the law of hate and martial conflict.

MILITARY TRAINING FOR BOYS—DO WE WANT IT?[1]

Compulsory military training of lads fourteen years old and upward in Australia, and sixteen years old and upward in New Zealand, has been so exploited in some quarters that an investigation into the practical operation of such a system, or its dangers, is important at the present time.

Such training is claimed by some of its advocates to be different from conscription, but in practical operation it proves to be the same. The Defense Act of New Zealand of 1909 was made possible by the agitation of the National Defense League and by influences originating in Engand. The visit of the United States fleet to Australia resulted in a great wave of military enthusiasm spreading over that land, and one of the developments connected therewith was the demand to arm. The result of a combination of circumstances, seized by the militarists to their own aggrandizement "without any direct reference to the will of the people," and backed at first by some well-meaning

[1] By William C. Allen. American School Peace League. Boston. 1916. Also in Advocate of Peace. 78: 76-8, March, 1916.

educators, was that the men of those countries put their defenseless boys under military discipline to which the voters would not themselves pretend to submit in times of peace.

Figures supplied by Arthur Watts, organizer of the Australian Freedom League, revealed extraordinary conditions. Even registrations were difficult to get. He shows that in Australia in 1913, despite the fact that the military officers had power to register boys without their parents' consent, the number liable to prosecution for non-registration at the end of the registration period was 7,324.

Official figures quoted in the "Melbourne Age" of 31st of May, 1912, disclosed that to that date the total average attendance for Australia at the statutory parade drills was 59,562 out of the total strength of 88,859 senior cadets (eighteen years old and under) stated by the military authorities to be in actual training. The percentage of absentees from drills ranged from about thirty-one to fifty-two per cent. The "Age" adds: "It is plain that large numbers of cadets are shirking their legal obligations."

There have been very many prosecutions of boys under the system which in each country is known as the Defense Act. Non-attendance at drill from almost whatever cause necessarily constitutes a basis for prosecution. In the city of Auckland, New Zealand, of about 90,000 population, during the twelve months ending at an early date in 1914, there were, not counting withdrawn cases, a record of 770 prosecutions. There are reported, for instance, as many as fifty defense prosecutions in the police court of the little city of Invercargill, N. Z., at one time.

The administration of prosecutions has been very severe in many cases. The act in both countries provided alternative service and assumed relief for members of denominations opposed to military service, but no relief for the many others who resisted drill because of religious or other conscientious principles.

Australia seems to have become anything but a free country since it established juvenile military drill. The actual conditions are not, so far as I can learn, unfolded in government reports or mentioned in circulars for intending immigrants.

John F. Hills, M.A., of Glenelg, South Australia, a well-known educator, has stated that in times of peace "military imprisonment" was inflicted on "over 4,000 Australian boys and youths." A boy who has once been in prison, even for conscience sake, will never be the same.

The effect of military drill has been bad. The schoolmaster

aims to make the child think for himself, which is exactly the reverse of the work of the drill-master. Dr. Howse, F.R.C.S., of Orange, N. S. W., says that the present system of drilling boys is distinctly injurious to boys of nervous temperament. It creates indigestion, and distinct physical injury has resulted. He denies the physical benefit of military drill in view of the number of such cases, and states that twenty years of age is early enough to begin training. Thus the "Age," February 18, 1914, when citing some of the hardships connected with the training camps, tells of how a medical examination revealed numerous cases of acute dilation of the heart, etc. Noted American educators have declared that athletics and free sports for growing boys are infinitely preferable to the constrained positions and rigid movements connected with drill and handling a gun.

The New Zealand Freedom League in its first annual report, 1914, when discussing the prosecutions in police courts which were found necessary in connection with the enforcement of military drill, says: "There are many instances of ludicrous absurdity, many of shameful injustice, and altogether one is impressed with the fact that boys from fourteen years upwards are compelled to mix with the worst characters off our streets, to hear of filth and crime from which they should be protected, simply because they object to be brutalized by the agents of war or because they happen to have been absent from parade." There has been much testimony to the moral damage done to lads in detention barracks and jails, and also to those who willingly participate in the drill, in camps or otherwise. Under military rule the decent boys have to "stay put" in drill or tent alongside of the vicious boy.

Those who are opposed to drill from conscientious or other reasons, are often called "liars," "unpatriotic," "traitors," etc., and it is insisted that they do not know whereof they speak.

An oath is demanded of the boys. That in New Zealand has been as follows:

"I, ..., do sincerely promise and swear that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to our Sovereign Lord, the King, his heirs and successors, and that I will faithfully serve in the New Zealand military forces, according to my liability under the Defense Act at present in force, and that I will observe and obey all orders of his Majesty, his heirs and successors, and of the generals and officers set over me until I shall be lawfully discharged. So help me God."

This oath, we are told, was often forced by threats of fine and imprisonment on boys who were drilling and on those whose parents refused to consent to their boys binding themselves to so drastic a surrender of their consciences into the keeping of the military authorities. We may easily conceive of the attitude created in the minds of thousands of lads toward governmental authority when many are thus compelled to take oaths and others are placed in a position of disobedience to parental control.

Before New Zealand came under the iron heel of militarism the only person who could inflict a fine upon any one was a magistrate. But today a military officer can impose fines on the boys under his care at his own sweet will, and, what is far more serious, can cause that fine to be collected by a policeman out of the lad's wages (if he works for wages).

From what the writer can learn, the military and naval board in both countries has acquired an undesirable influence and power over the teachers of state and private schools.

The general unpopularity of these conditions in Australia is proved by the fact that, according to the carefully collected reports of the Australian Freedom League, in two and one-half years up to the last day of 1913, there were 22,143 prosecutions of young people from fourteen and upward. There have been many more thousands since then. This was in a population of 4,500,000. Some church people, and labor unions whose working lads are affected very much by such laws, have been bitterly opposed to military drills. The Amalgamated Society of Engineers of New Zealand, when speaking of the Defense Act, appealed "to all thoughtful citizens to do their utmost to stem this drift into barbarism."

Any efforts to establish military drill in the schools of a democracy carry with them many dangerous tendencies that are in direct opposition to the moral and political ideals that these schools are primarily intended to develop. One tendency is to shift from option to compulsion.

The writer feels a deep sympathy for the vast number of conscientious teachers and parents who desire to help our boys. Yet military instruction for them does not in practical operation seem to be a valuable moral factor, but the reverse. It does not improve the national health, or foster the sort of discipline that is wanted. The most satisfactory discipline for boys is that which is today being obtained in many excellent schools without the temptations and moral damage of military associations. The

training of children in military ideals, however well intended, is a retrograding step. It tends to lure them from gainful pursuits toward illusive militarism. The burden eventually falls heaviest on the poor. It strikes at civil and religious freedom and in practice leads to compulsory tyranny. A well-known clergyman of New Zealand has said of it, "It represents paganism in excelsis." To maintain this system a disturbing propaganda of jingoism and international fears has to be promoted in the community. Even Germany has not taught her boys to kill. Shall we out-Prussia Prussia? Shall we have conscription for our boys in times of peace as is now being urged for America?

If you give the military or naval advocates an inch they take an ell. You never know how far they will lead you. Militarism is the same the world over—first ingratiating, next seductive, then remorseless. Do we want even the thin edge of militarism introduced into our public schools?

MILITARY TRAINING IN AMERICAN HIGH SCHOOLS[1]

Through excess of military activity, through weakness of governmental control, through diplomatic injustice and crime, the nations of Europe have fallen into a helpless slough of mutual destruction, so hideous, so ruinous, so preposterous, so devilish, that any adjective one may use shrivels in inadequacy.

And the awful carnival in Europe induces parallel currents of hysteria in the law-abiding nations, even in the United States. This shows itself in the sudden demand for militarism at home as a defense against possible attacks of militarism abroad. Out of this has arisen the plan to give military drill to the boys in the high school as a part of "national defense."

No one can read the future, but the past experience of the world indicates that our boys of today will not be obliged to fight in any war. Every great war has made the world sick and tired of warring, and has been followed by prolonged peace. At the end of the wide-spread religious and dynastic wars of the sixteenth and later centuries it was resolved that the same causes at least should not bring on great conflicts again. We

[1] By David Starr Jordan, Chancellor of Leland Stanford, Jr., University. Advocate of Peace. 78: 266-7, October, 1916.

hope that the great contest for domination and exploitation which is now on us will also be the last of its kind. There is no hurry about arming our American boys. We can wait a little to see how Europe comes out.

In my judgment, and that of most other teachers, voluntary military drill is a misuse of time that might generally be better employed. Compulsory drill is thoroughly evil, as an invasion of individual liberty and as an entering wedge of a movement subversive of democratic freedom.

As an exercise, voluntary drill is far inferior to well-ordered gymnasium work. Experts in physical training generally condemn it. The obedience it teaches is of the lowest kind, and in a degree it tends to promote what is called the "martial spirit." This may have its good side, but it usually spends itself in pride of display and in hatred of an imaginary enemy. It tends to turn the boy's mind away from the real enemies that beset every society, foes within, not to be fought with swords and guns. Even militarized Prussia has not placed military training in any school, from the kindergarten to the university, except in those schools devoted entirely to that purpose. No nation has ever long maintained such drill in secondary or high schools. The intrusion of military affairs impairs the effectiveness of other instruction, while having little or no value for war purposes. Moreover, such training would reach only a small minority, as the vast majority of boys available for military drill are outside the gymnasium and the university.

In Australia boys from fourteen to twenty years of age are placed in military camps for about eighteen days each summer, such training having no connection with the schools. In Switzerland every man, non-exempt, from twenty to forty-eight years of age is drawn into military service. The exempt pays a special fee in place of drill. The recruits are divided into classes on the basis of competitive examinations, physical and mental. The "elite" or chosen class drill for seven periods of eleven days each, chiefly in rifle practice, the others mostly for one such period each year. The Australian system was established in view of an absurd and baseless fear of an invasion from Japan; that of Switzerland rests on a well-grounded distrust of some of her neighbors.

It is quite true that there are teachers who sucessfully use military forms for training boys in good manners, good morals,

and the diligent use of time; but such training would be better if the "musket" and the "enemy" were left out of it. The "Boy Scout" movement has shown this, and we may be sure that the skill in woodcraft, roadcraft, and towncraft this movement furnishes is better even for a future soldier than anything the "High School Cadet Corps" can give.

Compulsory drill in the high school would introduce other and more sinister elements. The course of study, already overloaded, would have a new and incongruous element thrust into it, which again would be hard and fast in its insistence, while many of the other secondary studies are elective and involve the element of consent. High-school boys could be rounded up by the mild coercion of school boards, although conscientious and other scruples of boys and parents would have to be considered. But the scheme to have any military value must also include the far larger number of boys not in school attendance. But if boys from the outside were included, the drill would cease to be an educational function. State compulsion would succeed that of school boards. If developed as a permanent policy, the scheme must become national, involving all states alike, and letting no boy escape if legally liable. United States marshals would hunt down truants, and, as now in Australia, a boy who for any reason failed to appear might be sent to prison and his parents subjected to a fine. Any scheme of compulsory military education of high-school boys must thus, of its own weight, fall out of the school and become, like the Australian system, a State matter, to be dropped when the first excitement passes. In a republic compulsion is exercised only by ourselves and on ourselves.

The Australian system has involved great expense and much ill feeling. It is claimed that the camp is "democratic" because all classes meet on the same level. Bad boys here get a touch of good company, but good ones often find themselves for the first time in very bad company. The associations of the camp on the whole are not wholesome. The old trooper, avowedly no "plaster saint," is usually not a fit instructor for growing youth. Except for constant lying references to the covetous enemy, Japan, the "black crow that watches for the eyes of the starving sheep," the system could not have been maintained. In Australia, with a population about double that of California, 22,143 boys have been in two and a half years prosecuted for failure to

appear at the barracks. Even for writing home accounts of their experience, boys have been punished.

In central Europe compulsory drill exists not primarily for the purpose of making good soldiers, but rather to make bad citizens—men who will take orders from above and obey them without thought.

In general no nation with compulsory military service can long retain its sanity or its freedom. The first purpose of compulsory service is to make subservient industrial as well as military units of the young men of the country. The docile army is the right arm of privilege and the reliance of the industrial exploiter. Military drill accustoms men to blind obedience. They are taught to regard frightfulness in terms of exalted patriotism. To think of time of service as years thrown away occurs to but few of them. The danger from the enemy nation demands their sacrifices. This "enemy nation," which they blindly hate, is always watching for a chance to spring. When all men have been through three years of camp servitude they are open to all kinds of "war scares." They are prepared for the domination of "makers of madness." Thus the people become "incapable of self-government." They subject themselves to extortions and discomforts to pay the "insurance against war." The whole system tends to evoke the war spirit, at once making war more probable and more profitable to its financial backers. That so many of our military men and their associated agitators favor it shows that militarism does not change its character in a republic. It is blind, ignorant, insistent, and contemptuous of the values of human freedom.

"America means opportunity," and the young men and women of the Republic should be trained to grasp opportunity for themselves. Their springs of action should be responsive to the individual conscience. The "discipline" of driven sheep is not for them, however useful it may be to aristocracies which claim to rule by Divine Right. Only that training which develops individual initiative is worthy of the name of discipline. Collective discipline impairs individuality. The good citizen of America is not a chattel sheltered by a State he does not control. The democratic State exists for the common welfare of the men and women that compose it. The idea of compulsion has little place in a democracy. Wherever it appears, it should be scanned most critically, for it is legitimate only in time of severest need. Such

need does not appear today. It may not appear when the high-school boys of today have grown to be men. We have ample reason to hope with Louis Raemaekers of Amsterdam that this is "Germany's Last Dance with Death."

MILITARY TRAINING IN SCHOOLS[1]

I am not an advocate of military training in our public schools because I believe it to be educationally and biologically wrong, and because it fails to produce an efficient soldiery, which is its aim.

The intent of our educational system, and the purpose of teaching in our schools is to bring out initiative and responsibility. Military training for boys, with its unquestioned obedience to command, shifts personal responsibility and inhibits initiative.

The Boy Scout movement, with a program of play and service, its incentive to mental and physical efficiency and discipline, is a logical method of preparation for citizenship and for life.

The fundamental needs of boyhood cannot be supplied by military training. The program for boys can never be identical with that designed for full-grown men. Neither can the leadership of boys be identical in method or practice with the leadership and direction of men. The preparation of programs for boys and their education should obviously be in the hands of those who have made a study of and know its needs.

Lieutenant-General Sir Robert S. S. Baden-Powell, founder of the Boy Scout movement in England, states in his recent book, "Quick Training for War," that loyalty, patriotism and courage are the essentials in a soldier, and that no amount of drill can instill these fundamentals. If you wish to spoil a soldier, he says, attempt to make one of a boy. Should we not stop and consider what we propose to do with these adolescent boys. Just what part of the school curriculum are we to dispense with in order to make room for military training? Surely no period of time now devoted to physical training should be dispensed with. According to the statement of the U. S. Marine recruiting office, less than 10 per cent of the applicants for enlistment are physically fit for service. In New York City only three out of every hundred are acceptable. Surely we have need

[1] By Walter S. Cowing, Scout Executive, Philadelphia. From "Military training in the public schools," p. 20. American School Peace League. 1916.

in our schools for greater and ever-increasing effort toward body and health efficiency. There is evidence that military training for boys does not supply this need in as full measure as the accepted systems of physical training.

LETTER FROM THE GOVERNOR OF PENNSYLVANIA[1]

February 17, 1916.

I have never felt that it was right to have military drill in the public schools.

I am strongly in favor, however, of physical training of a practical sort that will make the bodies of our boys obedient to their minds, and in this way predispose them for any specific training which later on may be required of them.

The school is essentially a preparation for life in its broad sense and not a place to train our individuals for a possible, and let us hope, an improbable service.

Very truly yours,

M. G. BRUMBAUGH.

MILITARY DRILL IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS[2]

On November 3d, Dr. D. A. Sargent presented the following epitome of his views on the introduction of military drill in the schools, before the Special State Board of Military Preparedness of Massachusetts:

This is a question which has come before the state and country before, and is the usual result of a wave of popular concern for our military condition and state of preparedness for war such as has swept over the country every ten or twenty years.

I. Let us consider first what are the fundamental requirements of modern war as regards the men and women of a belligerent country:

(a) Health and vigor of its people, and the knowledge of how to maintain it under both favorable and adverse circumstances.

[1] From "Military training in the public schools." Pamphlet. American School Peace League. 1916.

[2] By Dudley A. Sargent. Mind and Body. 22: 906-9. January, 1916. Extract from The Sargent Quarterly of December, 1915.

(b) Mental acumen and bodily and mental control under trying circumstances.

(c) A courageous and generous spirit that will fight for what it believes is right for all it is worth.

II. How near do we come in this country to fulfilling these conditions?

(a) The most of our children are not trained and developed physically as they should be, while a few are overtrained and enjoy the special attention of instructors and the use of facilities barred to the many.

(b) Mental acumen as regards physical activities is not developed as it should be for lack of the opportunity for its expression.

(c) The moral qualities of courage, co-operation and self-sacrifice and the fighting spirit, in its broadest and best sense, are not developed as they should be for lack of wholesome and properly directed means for their expression, except again in the case of the favored few.

III. Does military drill in the schools develop these qualities in youth which prepare a nation for the struggles of war, to say nothing of those of peace? No, because:

1. It is not an adequate means for physical training, being not only very limited in its activities, but actually harmful in its effect on boys less than eighteen or twenty years of age. The musket is a one-sided implement, too heavy for young boys and inefficient and harmful for older boys. Sir William Aitkin, Professor of pathology in the Army Medical School of England, in his book "The Growth of the Recruit and the Young Soldier" says that boys given military training at eighteen make soldiers who are less robust and efficient than men with whom this training was deferred a few years, remaining in civil life until after their bones, heart, lungs, liver, etc., were more matured and developed. Recruits of eighteen show physical immaturity which results only too frequently in their ending in the hospital or being discharged as invalids. Recruits of eighteen require two years' special training before they are fit for military training.

2. It does not offer sufficient opportunity for the development of the individual's powers of muscular and mental coordination and the exercise of judgment under unusual and trying circumstances.

3. It does not offer sufficient opportunity for struggle, which

requires and develops a spirit of co-operation and self-sacrifice, loyalty and a strong will.

4. The most military nations in the world do not have military drill in their schools, but give military instructions and training only after the boys have reached eighteen or twenty years, and have received years of physical training as a part of their schooling.

5. The same qualities that are of most value for war are of most value in peace. Military drill also is inadequate as a preparation for the struggles of peace, such as are necessary to sustain the place of the individual or nation in the pursuit of science, politics commerce, etc.

6. Military drill in the schools cannot teach boys the real art of war, since they are too young to handle the real weapons and undergo the vigors of adequate instruction. Hence it is apt to foster a bombastic military spirit of "tin-soldierism" and a false sense of patriotism which does not appreciate the seriousness of war nor the glories of the struggles of peace.

IV. A rational system of physical training in the schools and colleges would be of the greatest value in preparing the youth of the country—both boys and girls—for the struggles of both war and peace; because:

1. The development and functioning of both the mental and moral attributes is dependent upon and limited by the health and vigor of the individual.

2. Physical training in the schools would be training at the formative and most critical period of life, just when it is most needed and able to produce the best and most lasting results.

3. By this means not only would the stature be improved in size and carriage, but all the vital organs—heart, lungs, liver, etc.—would be developed and brought into condition to undergo the vigors of real military training in camp or barracks if necessary.

4. Furthermore, the boys and girls would learn how to take care of themselves under adverse circumstances and apply the laws of hygiene, instruction in which is, of course, an important part of any adequate system of physical training.

5. An adequate system of physical training includes athletic sports and games, and general gymnastics under competent direction. In these activities—and in this way only—is an opportunity offered for the exercise of the same physical, mental, and moral qualities which are of fundamental importance in war. I

refer to presence of mind, courage, self-sacrifice, and the desire to struggle for a cause which is believed to be right. Physiologists have recently shown that the whole bodily tone and functions are different according as the individual's emotions are those of quiet rest or active struggle. To exercise these various functions in preparation for the struggles of war or peace, contests must be provided. Hence we have a new reason for promoting the plays and games of the playground, school yard, and athletic field.

6. The countries whose armies in this war are found best prepared do not give military drill in their schools. On the contrary, they give abundant instruction in physical training. As illustrating the interest in physical training, independent of the schools, in Germany alone, in 1909, in 7,174 cities and towns there were 8,607 gymnastic societies with a total membership of 902,910, and an active membership of 416,861, an active junior membership of 150,332 and an active female membership of 49,627. On January 1, 1914, the total membership was 1,486,320. It is easy to see at what advantage the German military authorities worked with such a nucleus in addition to their regular army. On the other hand, once England's small army of regular troops —than whom there are none finer in the world—had gone to the front, she found herself faced with the herculean task of training a citizen army. She has been at this for over a year and is still at it, trying to do in a few months what Germany and France and Switzerland have taken years of gradual and consistent training to accomplish.

Conclusion.

V. Upon the foundation of a healthy and vigorous youth can be laid the technical training for peace or war which is necessary for the successful nation of today. Let abundant instruction in military science be given in our colleges, technical schools, military camps, forts, etc., to all who are otherwise qualified and willing to undertake the responsibility of being officers; and provide the means for developing and selecting regular army officers capable of commanding such enormous numbers of troops as enter into modern warfare. Further provide—either in cooperation with or entirely under the Federal Government—training camps for citizen soldiers, but do not attempt to make a soldier out of an undeveloped boy. For instruction in camp life, first aid, signaling, and the many valuable, but easily forgotten

things to be known by a good soldier, why not promote the Boy Scout movement, a movement started by an experienced soldier who knew England's needs in the Boer War?

What America most needs is some way of giving those physical advantages to the masses which she now lavishes on the favored few—some way of providing more athletic students and fewer student athletes, some way of providing more soldierly schoolboys instead of schoolboy soldiers.

RESOLUTIONS ON MILITARY TRAINING IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS[1]

In the spring of 1915 the Pennsylvania Arbitration and Peace Society addressed to the legislature at Harrisburg a protest against a bill then proposed for compulsory military training of boys in schools and educational institutions in the state of Pennsylvania. The bill was never reported out of committee. Since that time, however, steps have been taken toward the introduction of military training in the schools in different parts of the state, and a number of persons have publicly urged such training on a national scale.

Our society has the same strong convictions on this subject as heretofore. It has not taken sides in the matter of "preparedness," but stands on a platform that is broad enough to include all persons who believe in the judicial settlement or arbitration of international disputes, in the further development of courts and of conferences, and the limitation of armament by international agreement. We believe, however, that the question of military training in the schools of the state should be opposed on grounds of common sense, and educational and personal efficiency, if not on military grounds. It is a matter for educators to determine and not for the layman, the politician or the agitator.

Our opposition to military training in the schools and the agitation at present made in its favor, is based on the following grounds:

First. Military training is not conducive to the best physical development of school boys. It is contrary to the practice and experience of the skilled leaders in physical education. This idea is summed up in the words of Dr. Charles Eliot, former

[1] Pamphlet issued by Pennsylvania Arbitration and Peace Society. 1916.

President of Harvard University: "Military drill seems to me one of the poorest forms of bodily exercise; very inferior to most gymnastic exercises and to all free sports. There is too much routine and automatic action in it and too much repression of individual freedom. The only good part of it is the 'setting-up drill,' which can easily be made a gymnastic exercise without military accompaniments."

Military drill is unelastic, undeveloping and opposed to that flexibility and initiative which are valuable ends in physical training. Dean Russell, of Teachers' College, Columbia University, has recently expressed similar views in condemning military training for school boys, and Dr. Sargent, of Harvard University, is equally emphatic.

Second. The teachers and educators of the United States are practically a unit in opposing this movement. The following statement appears in the resolutions adopted by the National Education Association, at Oakland, California, in the summer of 1915: "The Association deplores any attempt to militarize this country. It again declares against the establishment of compulsory military training in the schools, on the ground that it is reactionary and inconsistent with American ideals and standards."

Third. Military training in schools is utterly futile as a preparation for service in the field. The small amount of training that can be given, unsuited to the age and development of boyhood, as above stated, is of no practical value.

Fourth. None of the great European countries at present engaged in warfare, committed as they are to militarism, is practicing military training for its boys in the schools. Such a system was tried temporarily some time ago in both England and France, but was given up on account of its uselessness and futility.

Fifth. The development of a system of military training would entail great expense to no good purpose, interfere with the good working of the schools by introducing into the school system men out of touch with educational ideals and practices, and would introduce grave dangers in the form of miltarism and a radical change in our national ideals.

Many other reasons could be given against military training. We are willing, however, to rest our opposition on the grounds above stated.

WE OBJECT TO MILITARY DRILL FOR BOYS UNDER EIGHTEEN[1]

Because it is bad physical training

Dr. Sargent of Harvard University says that military drill is bad for perfectly healthy boys and that it brings out the defects in boys who are not quite strong.

Military drill develops the external muscles at the expense of the internal muscles which support the vital organs.

Military drill does not make boys graceful and quick. It makes them stiff and angular.

The Massachusetts Commission which studied the effect of military drill said that it made the boys round-shouldered and narrow-chested. Until a boy is 18 he is not strong enough to carry a gun.

If you really want physical training give the boys gymnastics and sports.

Because it is bad education

Military drill kills initiative and self-reliance. It develops only patience and slavish obedience. Do you want your boy to become a machine? Independence of thought and action are the foundations of democracy. Your boy will lose these if he is given military drill.

When a boy carries a gun he naturally begins to think about shooting somebody. Fear and Hate are the two things which make war inevitable. These are developed by military drill.

It is bad enough to teach adults the practices and principles of warfare—such as spying, eaves-dropping, hitting from behind, lying, forging letters, following up a beaten enemy and hammering at him until he is annihilated. But what a vicious moral effect thoughts like these must have upon the mind of a young boy!

Because it is a waste of money

How do people in New York City dare to propose this wasteful expenditure of money when our night schools and vocational schools are closed for lack of funds? When our recreation centers and social centers are shut down? When there are over 35,000 pupils on part-time? When 1,500 eligible teachers are re-

[1] From "Forward to mutilation and death." Pamphlet. Woman's Peace Party, New York, 1916.

fused promotion? When no new teachers were appointed last fall to take care of the 20,000 new pupils who came asking for an education?

Because it is more military than the military nations

Germany and Austria do not train boys under 18 to drill with rifles. Over 20 years ago France dropped military drill from the schools and the fighting strength of the French to-day proves that this was not a mistake. Dr. Angerstein, a high authority in German army circles, says that it would be a physiological crime to introduce military drill into the German schools. Are we going to be more military than the "Military Nations of Europe"?

Because modern warfare has made it useless

War is no longer a duel between individual men. It is a matter of machines that shoot bullets like rain. It it an affair of chlorine gas and barbed wire entanglements. All the rifle practice in the world will not help a boy against a machine gun or a barbed wire entanglement or a gas bomb.

WYOMING SYSTEM OF MILITARY TRAINING FOR SCHOOL BOYS[1]

Considerable publicity has recently been given to the so-called Wyoming system of military training for schoolboys, and thus a number of public-spirited citizens have become interested in it. A movement is on foot to interest the Board of Education and to have it introduced in whole or in part to the schools of Philadelphia.

This course, if adopted, will be attended by changes in the school system so far-reaching in their influence and so important in the physical training and athletics of our boys that the public should be informed as to the nature of the plan recommended, the conditions under which it has been tried in Wyoming and its present status there.

The "system" was developed by Lieutenant Steever, a man sincere and earnest in his desire to foster manly ideals in schoolboys. He appears to be well qualified to arouse enthusiasm and stimulate boys to clean living and athletic rivalry. He is, how-

[1] Investigation by Stanley R. Yarnall; reprinted from the Philadelphia Public Ledger, February 28, 1916. Pamphlet. American School Peace League, Boston.

ever, without broad experience in physical training and has a very limited knowledge of the great field of education developed by American specialists in the care of boys and girls through gymnastics, athletics and free sports of all sorts. The United States leads the world in this great educational movement, and all that concerns physical training should be tested and approved by professional educators in these lines and not by amateurs.

Lieutenant Steever does not approach the question of physical training from the point of view of a broadly trained specialist concerned in all-round development of adolescent boys and girls, but from the angle of a military propagandist, who sees in boys and girls potential soldiers and nurses. In his recent address in Philadelphia he twice ominously mentioned "the earthquake," whatever that may be, as something sure to come speedily. For this he would prepare every schoolboy by a very narrow group of athletic activities that involve the wearing of khaki overalls or a regular military uniform, the constant handling of the rifle and the ever-present idea of war and fighting.

Wyoming is a large western state, containing the Yellowstone National Park, itself about the size of Connecticut, and great stretches of mountain, forest and prairie lands very sparsely settled. According to the census of 1910, its population was 145,965. Its urban population was 43,221. It contains only five cities, the largest, Cheyenne, with 11,320 inhabitants, and the smallest, Rawlins, with 4,256. There are 41 towns or villages, 25 of which had less than 500 population.

In this scattered population there are very few high schools. From a letter recently received there appear to be only 101 high school boys enrolled in Cheyenne, its largest city. There is virtually no organized physical education in the state, and there are few, if any, specialists in physical education and athletics qualified to judge the merits of the exercises that have been introduced. It is easy to see that the conditions are entirely different from our Pennsylvania situation, with great cities whose school enrollments out-number those of the entire state of Wyoming.

The so-called Wyoming system consists of volunteer groups of boys, who are given the rudiments of close and extended order drill, and who engage in three forms of rivalry; first, rifle practice; second, wall scaling, and third, military map reading.

Virtually all educators are strongly opposed to rifle practice

for schoolboys. Apart from the great expense it involves and the practical difficulties in arranging for it in cities and closely settled communities, it is not a sport suited to the active years of the growing boy; it fails to develop the co-operation and group spirit, that are important elements in all the recognized school games and athletic contests. The military map reading appears to be a refuge for bad and stormy weather. The boys take government maps of Gettysburg, etc., and try to figure out what they would have done if they had been leaders of the two armies. They are supposed by this practice to learn how to read maps and to become strategists for future campaigns. It is hard to appreciate the type of mind to which this sort of thing appeals. It may give a false sense of importance to a few boys, but any one who thinks must know its utter futility. All it can do is to instill the military spirit into boys who should be better employed. But in America we seem particularly prone to this sort of hocus pocus, particularly in educational matters.

The wall scaling is the one genuine athletic contest in the "system." It consists in a short dash, the climbing of a wall and the landing in good order on the other side. Groups of boys compete, and considerable interest has been aroused in the contests in Wyoming. In this connection it may be said that there are few other forms of athletics in the state, and that prizes and novelty have created an initial enthusiasm that, after two years, is already on the wane. The contests take place in military uniforms, and the boys start with rifles in their hands, and these play an important part in the wall scaling.

In our organized athletics we have all the valuable elements that this contest presents, minus the rifles and the uniforms, however, and all good gymnasium directors have utilized such exercises for years before "the Wyoming system" was invented.

Mention should also be made of the girls who are chosen as sponsors by the boys. In the photographs shown of the Wyoming experiment these sponsors frequently appear in Goddess of Liberty costume, hovering over the boys just as they are lined up for the starting signal. The idea is that the sponsors inspire the boys to do their best and keep alive in them ideals of chivalry and the protection of women. In other photographs the sponsors appeared in nurses' uniforms, bandaging handsome high school boys in uniforms on stretchers .

This, in short, is the Wyoming system as described by its

originator and recommended by the War College. One would infer that it is state-wide in its application, and that many schools and thousands of boys are involved in it, so enthusiastic are its advocates.

As a matter of fact, a letter from the adjutant general of Wyoming, dated February 4, 1916, states that "seven high schools in the state have an average of 45 boys in each school who take this training." There are no laws requiring military training in Wyoming, and the work is purely voluntary. The entire number of boys participating, therefore, is about 300.

The Superintendent of Schools of Cheyenne states, on February 8, 1916, that in that city, the largest city of the state, only 60 boys are enrolled for the military drill.

The Superintendent of Schools of Laramie, the third city in the state in population, writes, on February 5, 1916, as follows: "The military instruction in the high school has not proved a sucess in Laramie, and we have eliminated it from our curriculum. Last year it was instituted, but this year there was but little interest, and since the thing seemed to be impracticable to us, we thought it best to leave it for higher institutions."

In view of the agitation in favor of this Wyoming training, it seems that the public is entitled to the facts stated above.

The conclusions to be reached are that "the system" is not a system at all; that instead of contributing to the well-planned course of physical training for the boys of our city it would interrupt it without adding any elements not already included; that it has not been tested or approved by competent specialists; that it has been tried out on a very limited scale in a western state where conditions are the antithesis of those in Philadelphia, and that even in Wyoming it is losing ground, and that in one of the five cities it has been given up after one year of experiment because it did not interest the boys and proved impracticable to the school authorities.

The moral of all this is that in matters that concern the interests of the schools, involving, as they do, the welfare and development of boys and girls, our most valuable possession, it is well to consult those who have spent their lives in educational service before urging any new experiment.

COMPULSORY MILITARY DRILL—A GREAT COLLEGE MENACE[1]

Why is more compulsory drill just the thing to substitute for intercollegiate athletics. Here is why—in the words of an opponent of the latter and a warm advocate of the former. "Drill keeps young men in the open, gives them uniform exercise without over-strain, compels them to be alert and neat, and enforces team work."

Says another university authority: "Many of our students need to be cured of stooped shoulders, bowed necks, hollow chests, pigeon toes and a few things like that very much more than they need any more Latin or mathematics."

What are the requirements of a good exercise? It should develop the body as a whole in due proportion to every other part and it should do this as fully as possible. It should be enjoyed. It should be followed by a bath.

Compulsory drill falls down miserably in every one of these requirements.

As to proportional and adequate development drill exercises only certain muscles in certain prescribed ways. You practically always carry your rifle on your right shoulder and you bring it up in the same way. You give the same exercise to every boy regardless of whether his right shoulder is lower than his left or his big defect is pigeon toes or hollow chest. Even drill's warmest advocates admit that the so-called exercise is neither strenuous nor arduous enough. Even military experts when the object is to get their recruits into good physical shape give gymnastic work rather than plain drill.

Practically all authorities give enjoyment of the exercise as a most important essential. That's why drill is such a fine exercise. Said a last year's commissioned officer to an ignorant high school boy who ventured to ask him how he liked drill: "You might as well ask a fellow how he likes to go to jail."

Any real exercise tears down tissue, causes hard breathing, and sweat. After indulging in a real exercise a shower bath is necessary to the best health of the individual and to the pleasantness of those about him. Yet, unbelievable as it may seem, the

[1] From pamphlet published by Students' Anti-Drill Society, State University of Washington. 1915.

shower baths at the gym are always empty of drill students just after drill!

To say that military drill, with all its suggestions of murder, of rifles, of strict obedience, of might makes right, of superiority of the military to everything else, does not lower the moral standard to a college group is to deny that suggestion and environment have any effect on mankind even when in the years of physical and mental change.

The Duty to the State Argument.

It is said the university student owes the state a return for its expenditures on the students.

But consider these facts: that our relatives are taxpayers and are entitled to a return in free education just as in the case of grammar and high schools.

Also the fact that the students now pay a considerable percentage of their educational expenses while the per capita tax for the support of the University of Washington is almost insignificant.

In fact the student pays several hundred times as much for his education at the university than does the average taxpayer.

Still we admit that the student does owe a debt to the state; but we do not admit that the establishment of an efficient murdering machine at the university is the best way to pay it! We should become leaders in some line; we should solve the problems of the state, industrially, politically, economically, we should make new discoveries in science; we should do a thousand and one things in constructive lines, but we should do nothing in any destructive line.

How could we better serve the state than by studying how to prevent war and then agitating for what we have learned will prevent it? To study, for example, the problems of government ownership of munition factories, surplus value, free international trade, arbitration and international conciliation, the making of the economic and political state coincide, etc., etc.

To the Board of Regents and the Faculty.

You have our best interests at heart. You are our friends in the best sense of the word. Sometimes we disagree, but your action is always based on what you believe to be the best for us.

Therefore, we earnestly beseech you to abolish at least the

compulsory feature of military drill. This allows all who want to drill, to drill. This places the students on the same plane as all other citizens of our country.

This would save the students thousands of dollars and give them hundreds of thousands of hours to spend on more study, more recreation, more rest—as you see fit by providing a substitute.

A state university is meant for the great masses of the people —the ones with little or no financial leeway. Hence any fee is a fine on education—a sacrifice to hundreds of worthy students. The state is a loser to the extent its citizens are uneducated.

To compel students religiously or morally opposed to drill, or students who on account of heavy outside work have not the time to drill—to compel them to drill is to make so many students bitter against it and those who compelled them. We beg of you that special attention be paid to those students.

We decry the militaristic spirit drill puts into some, and we decry its tendency away from true democracy.

We are surprised that a state university should lay much more importance on the subject of how to fight than on the subject of how to prevent war.

We believe drill "worse than worthless" as a physical exercise.

We strongly protest against any increase in the amount of compulsory drill.

And if, having examined into our arguments against drill, you still believe it to be to the best interests of all concerned that we still have compulsory drill, we make this one plea: that suits be not required, at least for those students fifty per cent self-supporting or over. A special company or companies could be organized for these.

We believe your action will be for the best; and for the time being we leave our fate in your hands.

PRINCETON STUDENTS OPPOSED TO MILITARY TRAINING[1]

Leaders of the student body of Princeton University have recently published a letter opposing military drill, which is of peculiar significance in view of the intense military campaign being carried on at that university in common with other schools and colleges. The letter was signed by Frank Glick, of Pittsburgh, captain of the football team; William H. Osborn, of New York; Hamilton Fish Armstrong, of New York, editorial chairman of the Daily "Princetonian"; Laurence G. Payson, of New York, secretary of the senior class, and Samuel M. Shoemaker, Jr., of Baltimore, president of the Princeton Y. M. C. A. The text of the letter follows:

"We are opposed to the militaristic propaganda now being carried on in American colleges. Our opposition is specifically directed against the introduction of military instruction at Princeton and against the summer-camp movement. Our reasons for this stand are based on a belief that such procedures are ineffectual and contain certain elements of danger.

"If recognized Government authorities believe that the present army and navy of the United States are inadequate for defence against an even remotely possible foe, it would seem proper that the Government at once institute steps to improve them. These steps should, we believe, take the form of enlarging our present army and navy training schools and of founding other similar institutions in the West and South; of stimulating general enlistment by making service in the army more attractive and democratic; of perfecting our material preparedness, i.e., as regards ready supplies of arms, ammunition, munitions, hospital, and ambulance equipment, etc., and of organizing the economic resources whence our country can draw such enormous power.

"This form of preparedness we favor, joined with a preparedness of which an essential part is an intelligent interest in international affairs and a fuller understanding of national policies. Colleges are not the place for drilling or for instruction in military matters.

"We think ill-advised and entirely ineffectual the sort of

[1] Advocate of Peace. 78: 113. April, 1916.

'preparedness' brought into being by going about stirring up the military feelings of the young men of the country and by a haphazard drilling for a few weeks in the summer. This country can be secured without such a diversion of the energies and interests of men in the process of being educated, and without increasing the risk of a jingoistic war by a continual calling out of 'War's coming!'

"Patriotism which shoulders a rifle is not the only sort of patriotism; the discipline gained at Plattsburgh is not the only sort of discipline, and every one who hesitates to swallow the results of the sort of action now being urged by the militaristic party is not necessarily a coward. This letter is a protest against the intimation that such is the case."

RESOLUTION OF THE SOCIALISTS[1]

BALTIMORE, November 22, 1916.—By an uprising without precedent in the annals of the American Federation of Labor, the delegates to the thirty-sixth annual convention of that body to-day shook off the control of President Samuel Gompers and took action to which they knew he was absolutely opposed. They registered in this emphatic fashion their protest against military training in the public schools.

The Mr. Gompers who carried the day against a similar anti-militarist resolution in the San Francisco convention one year ago, to-day offered no word of comment or of argument. He sought, indeed, to have the whole matter sent to a special committee, but even here he showed his sentiments only by the manner of presenting the question for a vote. The triumph of the anti-militarists was tumultuous and complete.

The Resolution.

"Whereas," said the resolution, "the Secretary of War has communicated with public-school authorities in various parts of this country, inquiring if they were willing to introduce military training of the boys in the schools, and stating that the War Department would provide instructors and rifles and ammunition; and

[1] New York Evening Post, November 23, 1916.

"Whereas, The American Federation of Labor is utterly opposed to militarism; therefore be it

"Resolved, That this convention protests against the action of the Secretary of War, and hereby instructs the executive council of the American Federation of Labor to request President Wilson to prevent any further attempt to militarize the public schools."

Andrew Furuseth, as chairman of the committee on the executive council's report, had reported adversely on this resolution. He based his report upon the ground that "the training might become useful, later on, to the children of the working class."

After declaring that the resolution did not deal with militarism at all, Furuseth presented a substitute, which read:

"Whereas, There is manifest a tendency to depart from the fundamental American idea of a small standing army and the right of all citizens to possess weapons, and

"Whereas, We agree with the fathers that a population deprived of weapons and of the opportunity of learning their use, while standing armies are increased, cannot long preserve free institutions; therefore be it

"Resolved, That we are opposed to any increase in the standing army, and further

"Resolved, That we demand from the Governments, national and State, that the Constitution's provision which guarantees the right to have arms shall be respected, and all laws against possessing arms shall be repealed."

Commenting upon this substitute, Furuseth said in a defiant tone, turning to the Socialist delegates who had attacked his report: "The children of the master class are trained in the use of arms, and you can't stop it. I am astounded that you revolutionary Socialists should want to strip the workers of arms, and prevent the children of the proletariat from knowing what a gun looks like and how to put it to the shoulder."

Paul Scharrenberg, of the Seamen, a California delegate, said that he had spent nine years as a boy in the schools of Germany, and that even Germany never attempted to teach its children the use of guns. It was only in free America that the doctrine was brought forward that young boys must be given military drill. He declared that the Australian people had been deluded into adopting militarism by the false cry of "yellow

peril," and pledged that the workingmen of the West would never yield their freedom to that cry. He ridiculed the Japanese "menace," and remarked that while he would fight to defend the freedom of the workers he would not fight "to defend Hearst's ranch in Mexico."

In this spirit the convention poured forth its pent-up emotions, until an attempt was made by organization leaders to refer the whole matter to a special committee. By a vote of 84 to 185, on a showing of hands, the motion was lost. Then came the great shout with which Furuseth's substitute resolution was swept aside, his unfavorable report rejected, and the resolution aimed at military training in the public schools adopted.

Later there was carried without objection a motion to create a special committee which should present resolutions covering all other phases of the militarist issue in the United States.

MILITARY TRAINING CAMPS

WHAT WE NEED[1]

It is perfectly apparent to any one who approaches the matter with an unprejudiced mind that every nation must have an adequate force to protect itself from domestic insurrections, to enforce its laws and to repel invasions. The government is charged with the duty to preserve and defend the interests of the people. The government must exercise for the nation the precautionary, defensive and preservative measures necessary to that end. To accomplish these purposes the government must have military force.

For some years the Army War College section of the General Staff and officers generally throughout the service had been planning with great earnestness some scheme by which there could be drawn from all walks of civil life an increasingly larger number of men with a sufficient military training to make them better prepared for the service of their country should the call ever need to be made.

This military training for civilians is a military necessity, but it has concomitant advantages which should not be overlooked. Inquiry among those who have employed men who have been discharged with good records from the army shows that they esteem them as among their very best employees. Yet the present legislation with respect to a reserve has proven utterly useless for the purpose, it having produced in two years only 16 men, and there is little hope that it will ever properly accomplish its purpose.

But if the reserve act has not brought desired results, the military camps established by the War Department in 1913, for the purpose of training high school, college and university graduates in military matters—so that in case of emergency they could become commissioned officers in charge of the reserves or volunteers—were highly successful.

[1] By Lindley M. Garrison, ex-Secretary of War. Harper's Weekly. 61: 79-80. July 24, 1915.

The object of these camps is to offer a post-graduate course, if I may so term it, in discipline and self-control. Their greatest advantage lies in the ease with which candidates meeting the requirements can join. They are vacational, educational and economical.

The opportunity to participate in these camps—which I commend to every young man—has been thrown open to all students over seventeen years of age who are physically qualified and properly recommended. The instruction and military exercises —which last for a period of five weeks in the early part of the summer—include the practical application of the proper precautions of health, care of the person, camping and marching, instructions in military policy and in the actual handling of troops in the field under simulated battle conditions, and in rifle shooting on the target range. The camps are in charge of selected regular army officers, and students are on a cadet status.

President Wilson had this to say about the camps:

> I am very much interested in the successful working out of the idea of these college camps. I believe the students attending will derive not only a great deal of physical benefit from the healthful, open-air life, but also that they will benefit from the discipline, habits of regularity, and the knowledge of personal and camp sanitation which the experience in camp will give them.
>
> The camps will also tend to disseminate sound information concerning our military history and the present policy of the government in military matters, in addition to giving the young men themselves a very considerable amount of practical military instruction, which would be useful to them in case their services should ever be required.

The result sought is not militarism, but to make provision in some degree to meet a vital need to the end that peace and prosperity may be preserved through the only safe precaution—more thorough preparation and equipment to resist any effort to break such peace. As a military asset they are of great value, since they afford the means of materially increasing the military reserve of the United States by instructing a class of educated men from which, in time of emergency, would probably be drawn a large proportion of the volunteer commissioned officers, upon whose judgment and training at such a time the safety and even the lives of many of their fellow countrymen will largely depend.

The country at large, too, benefits by the establishment of these camps, because they foster a patriotic spirit, without which a nation soon loses its virility and falls into decay; they spread among the citizens of the country a more thorough

knowledge of military history, military policy and military needs, all necessary to the well-rounded education of the citizen, in order that he may form just and true opinions on the military requirements of his own country.

One of the best features of this camp plan is that the students attend voluntarily and incur a nominal expense to do so. This self-imposed discipline has advantages that cannot be minimized. Among young men there are, in the opinion of many, especially two classes to whom such an experience would be most valuable —those coming from well-to-do indulgent parents and those who, lacking parental control, have developed an independence of action not consistent in all respects with the proper conventions of life.

Personally I am very much pleased with the increased interest in the military preparation and needs of our country taken by the students of the country's leading universities and colleges. The subjects of military policy, military organization, and the true military history of our country should be included in the university and college curriculum. This is necessary to the complete education of a well-equipped citizen in order that he may form just and true opinions on military subjects and be able to judge for himself just what is necessary in this respect for the proper safeguarding of the nation and the means to effect the same.

STUDENTS' MILITARY INSTRUCTION CAMP[1]

The War College studies indicate that the minimum number of men necessary for the United States in case of war with a first-class power is 500,000 men, these to be available at the commencement of war. This number would barely meet the demands incident to reasonable coast defense troops and a field army of moderate size. We have not got them now. There is little prospect of getting them for many years to come—not until an adequate reserve law has been passed and has been in effect a sufficient number of years to build up such a force.

In the meantime, our duty is to make the best of the situation that confronts us. We have at present a regular army of about

[1] By Leonard Wood, Major-General, United States Army. Harvard Illustrated Magazine. 15: 349-53. April, 1914.

86,000 men; 19,000 are in the Coast Artillery and needed in their special duty of looking after our coasts and manning their fortifications; 12,000 are in the Philippine Islands, to which we must add 5,600 native troops. In Hawaii, we have about 8,000 at present, the full garrison of the place requiring about 16,000. There are, approximately, 1,500 at Panama now, which should be increased to about 7,000 or 8,000 to supply the contemplated full garrison. These troops cannot be included in the number available for emergency. They could not be replaced, and the strength of the garrisons is the minimum for safety; 600 have to be kept in Alaska, and there are about the same number in Porto Rico, natives of the Island and permanently stationed there.

In the United States, we have now a mobile army (cavalry, infantry and field artillery) of about 30,000 men. When the foreign garrisons are increased to full strength this number will be materially reduced.

We have at present about 120,000 organized militia, of whom not over 75,000 or 80,000 would be reasonably efficient for immediate service. There are no reserves to fill up the skeleton militia or regular army organizations, and no adequate steps have taken to secure them. In other words, we have learned very little from the military experience of other countries.

Deducting the above amounts, and including the mobile troops in the United States, we have to obtain in the neighborhood of 350,000 to be recruited as volunteers—this before we are even able to put an adequate army in the field. These volunteers will be composed principally of untrained men. It would be criminal to put them in the field before they are in proper conditon to stand up against trained soldiers. Six months has been generally conceded to be the minimum length of time in which men can be trained under these conditions. With trained officers this time might be cut down. The training of the officers takes the longest time and is most important, as the lives of the men under them are in their charge.

With reference to the officers, we shall need some 12,000 or more, in addition to those of the regular army and militia. It is believed that this body of officers could in part be secured through appointing each year, as second lieutenants in the various line branches of the regular establishment, 500 or 600 of the young men who graduate from those schools and colleges

where officers of the regular army are detailed as military instructors. These young men would be appointed on the recommendation of these officers. When appointed they should receive the same pay and allowances of second lieutenants, and be junior to other lieutenants of the regular establishment. At the end of a year they would be discharged with a certificate of fitness if qualified, for officers of volunteers or other new organizations. Service for a year would not greatly interfere with any young man's career, and he would leave the service materially better off.

The personnel of the Students' Military Instruction Camps, composed as it is of well-educated young men of an age and intelligence which enables them to absorb military instruction rapidly, should also be a valuable source from which volunteer officers may be drawn, especially those young men who have had two camps.

Another gain from these camps is the spreading throughout the country of a better knowledge of military history, military policy, and military needs, all of which are necessary to the equipment of a well-developed citizen in order that he may, himself, form just and true opinions on the military needs of his country for protection.

The President of the United States has also expressed his opinion as follows:

"I am very much interested in the successful working out of the idea of these college camps. I believe the students attending will derive not only a great deal of physical benefit from the healthful, open-air life, but also that they will benefit from the discipline, habits of regularity and the knowledge of personal and camp sanitation which the experience in camp will give them.

"The camps will also tend to disseminate sound information concerning our military history and the present policy of the Government in military matters, in addition to giving the young men themselves a very considerable amount of practical military instruction, which would be useful to them in case their services should ever be required."

(Signed) Woodrow Wilson.

Ex-President Taft, in an article printed in the *Yale Daily News* of May 19, 1913, said in regard to them:

"For young men who have a taste for outdoor life and military training—and indeed for 'roughing it,' I can conceive of no

better opportunity for them to gratify this taste than to accept the invitation of the War Department. They can be sure it will be no boys' play if they go into it, but it will not only give them substantial knowledge of the principles of military science, but an opportunity for physical development and muscular training, and a regular life that will contribute greatly to their health and strength. On the other hand, the knowledge that they will acquire will be a very good foundation for their becoming members of State militia in their homes after graduation, and will fit them to come to the rescue of the country in an emergency whenever that may arise.

"I commend the plan to the earnest consideration of all who have the tastes I have indicated, and urge that they consult the agent of the War Department who is coming here, in order to learn just exactly what their duties and what their responsibilities will be.

"The suggestion has come from General Wood, who is a college man and knows college men, and is most sympathetic with college men who love outdoor life and have an inclination to do a little soldiering."

The young men of our country should not only be willing to be soldiers, but they should feel a sense of obligation to fit themselves to be effective soldiers in case they should ever be needed.

THE PLATTSBURG CONTRIBUTION TO MILITARY TRAINING[1]

I did not know that anyone still thought we would never again need any of our boys to fight for their country. They may not necessarily have to fight on the firing line, but there is some place in the community where they will fit in. It would be entirely wrong for all of the two, three, five or ten millions to be on the firing line, because then there would be no one to feed them, clothe them, furnish them with the necessary ammunition, and replace those injured. In time of peace, we soldier men expect and want to conform to civil custom and civil usage. In time of war, if the nation is to be at all successful, things must run in a military way, and even those back on the farm and on

[1] By Halstead Dorey, Captain, Fourth Infantry, U. S. Army. Academy of Political Science. Proceedings. 6: 229-33. July, 1916.

the railroads and in the factories must know something of the military way.

In addition, we believe that a man is improved by military training, but it is not necessary that he be trained every hour of the day, or every day, any more than he takes physical exercise every hour of the day, or every day.

Of course, anything short of universal training is from our point of view a make-shift. It is rather interesting in this connection to note that the only two English-speaking countries where they have universal military training are Australia and New Zealand. These are also the only two English-speaking countries that have woman suffrage and in which the representatives of organized labor are politically in power. The details as to who shall be exempt and at what ages the others shall serve, and the like, have been worked out and decided by the representatives of organized labor in those two countries, and from all I can learn, they have done it very well indeed.

One of the make-shift ways of dealing with our defense problem is the plan of giving four or five weeks of intensive, progressive military training, during the vacation period, to the youth of our country. That was started in 1913 at Gettysburg, where there were some two hundred college boys and students in their senior year at the high school gathered together for this practical instruction under regular army officers. Certain school masters, presidents of colleges, became so interested in this and so enthusiastic that they organized an advisory committee to extend the idea.

The war in Europe had broken out in the meantime. Some of the older men who had been driving ambulances in Europe came back, and as one of them expressed it, "Any of us who have been over there and come back home are simply scared to death." They talked to their friends, and applications began to come from men who were over the age limit, thirty years. This was taken up with General Wood, who said that if we could get a hundred men to enroll he would hold a camp in continuation of the student camp at Plattsburg. When that camp opened there were over twelve hundred men, and then there was another camp of over five hundred men. Those men became so interested, and have interested so many others in what they consider a good cause, that there are 12,321 enrolled in 1916 for Plattsburg alone.

Camps are also to be held in the Central Department and in

the West, and one is now running at Fort Oglethorpe at Chickamauga Park, in the South. We do not pretend to make officers by any means. The men who have been in these camps are most modest concerning their military knowledge. One of the first things they learn is that you can't make even one soldier between sun and sun. They really know a great deal more than they think they do, because with their intelligence and with the magnificent spirit in which they come to the camps, they are able to absorb a great deal more than the average man, and they work from daylight until long after dark.

The prime reason for the success of the camps is the magnificent spirit of the men who go to them. The effect upon us regular officers has been one of great encouragement. Here were eighteen hundred men who showed us, not only by word, but by deed, by sacrificing a full month of their vacations and also at some expense, that they looked upon our profession as something more than a survival of a medieval custom. It was an inspiration to have these men working right shoulder to shoulder with us, doing the same sort of work and wanting to learn all they possibly could in the short time they had.

It is a little more difficult for me to try to tell you what the civilians got from these camps. Our effort was to give them a fair idea of what the military profession is like, how complicated it is, how important it is that the man who is going out to lead other men in battle should know his business, so that it wouldn't be as it has been in all our previous wars, when very often the incompetent man was put in charge of the better man, either because he had had a few weeks of military training or had political influence. The men in these camps would come to us at night, after some of these drills, and say: "Why, I never realized how important it was to be able to look quickly over the ground and then remember what it looked like after I had gotten down into the valley."

We give them a chance to try out the different arms, so that when trouble comes, if and when it does, they will have a fair idea as to the branch for which they are best fitted. We regular officers have often seen, in the Philippines and in the Spanish War, a good infantryman wasted in the engineer corps, good cavalry material in the infantry, or vice versa, because when war broke out the man volunteered with the nearest organization, which might not fit his particular ability at all, and there wasn't

time to find out where he would be most useful. We never have had any organization before our wars have started. We have always organized our volunteer fire departments and built our fire engines after the fire has broken out.

These camps are democratic. The men are assigned to tents in the order in which they report. No man knows whether he is going to be with his brother or an utter stranger. That was what we tried to teach at Plattsburg, perhaps more than anything else. There were no Jews nor Gentiles, Catholics nor Protestants, no men from Yale, nor Harvard, nor Columbia, no men from Illinois nor Missouri. They were simply good Americans, trying to prepare themselves to defend their country should their country ever need them.

PLATTSBURG'S SECOND YEAR[1]

Two thousand three hundred and fifty-five men, seniors and juniors, attended the Plattsburg training camp in 1915 and 1,084 attended the similar camps at Fort Sheridan, Ill.; American Lake, Wash.; Monterey, Cal.; and Ludington, Mich.; a total of 3,439.

In 1916 the total enrollment at Plattsburg has been 15,690, with 3,607 more at Ft. Oglethorpe, Ga.; Ft. Sam Houston, Tex.; Ft. Terry, on Plum Island, and Monterey, Cal.; a total of 19,297. The actual attendance will probably prove to be a few hundred short of this figure.

This extraordinary increase from one year to another is explained by the forcible recognition, on the part of those who attended in 1915, of the country's vital need of vigorous and immediate action to extricate it from an extremely dangerous state of weakness. Every Plattsburger naturally became a sort of missionary, and the prime facts of our unpreparedness were so simple, so startling and so easy to grasp that the appeal has met with an enthusiastic response.

Two main motives, distinct, though springing from the same patriotic source, inspired a willingness to surrender other plans of work or vacation for a month of army discipline. In the first place there has been a desire to promote the movement and arouse the attention of the country, in order to force the inven-

[1] By Robert McC. Marsh. American Defense. 1: 328-9, 346. October, 1916.

tion and adoption of some system of military training which will remedy our helplessness without making military organization supreme. Leadership in that direction can be most effectively assumed by those who have some practical knowledge of military life and have shown themselves willing to set an example, but who are still civilians rather than soldiers. Many of the older men, the men above forty-five, doubtless joined the camps with this thought more or less prominently defined. More general, however, has been the simple desire of the rookie to fit himself to be most useful to his country in case the calamity of war should actually occur. He knows how useless he is without training. A few days in camp, or even the briefest accounts from Europe, show him how much there is to learn. The shock of the outbreak of the great war in 1914 and the crises in our own foreign relations in 1915 and 1916 have shattered his comfortable dream that the world is too civilized to fight. But the nation has not trained him, and so he must seek training voluntarily for himself.

Of course, the men who attended Plattsburg this year, whether for the first or the second time, do not feel like martyrs. They know that they got what they went for, and in a much larger measure than they ever dreamed of. After the soreness of the bones has worn away and the appetite returned to normal, families been pacified for interrupted vacations and loose ends of business gathered, there is probably not a man but is glad that he attended. The personal gain has been immeasurable, in health, in strength, in experience, in friendship, as well as in serviceableness and military efficiency. Contemplating those four weeks, the Plattsburg rookie is constantly astonished by the amount he has learned and accomplished. And he is even more astonished, if he has had no previous military experience, when he casts his mental vision forward and realizes how comparatively little he has learned after all, and how enormous is the intricacy of modern military science and art. Gone are his ideas, if he ever had such, that a soldier is made between sunrise and sunset by being handed a gun and a uniform. He no longer believes that an officer can be trained in a month. And in this connection he is not thinking merely of first class officers and men, or of officers and men who will "pass muster" for lack of better, but of officers and men who will not be a positive danger to their fellows in time of battle or pestilence. But

perception of the problem compensates for the disillusionment and there is the consciousness, mental as well as muscular, that the four weeks have been put in to the best possible advantage.

It is difficult to appraise the results of the Plattsburg training in concrete terms. Probably there is no better test than endorsement by the men who have undergone it. The unanimous sentiment of men of all ages and walks of life who have been sufficiently interested to go there, is that Plattsburg is decidedly worth while. A number of the younger men have been inspired to take examinations for commissions in the regular army to fill the new places created by the recent army bill. As training for the regular army is not the main purpose of the camps, however, this point is less important than the number of men who will qualify for commissions in the new Officers' Reserve Corps. Examinations were held for attendants at the August camp at Plattsburg sufficiently advanced to try them, at which there were 278 candidates for the Officers' Reserve Corps. It has not yet been announced how many of these qualified for commissions. The War Department is said to be planning examinations in the near future for attendants at the other camps.

The examinations, of course, are not the only definite criterion of the interest taken in the work. It should be noted that of the men who attended camps last year, 755 seniors attended again this year, and during this year many men stayed for two, three or even four camps. There is every reason to believe that the increase in attendance next year over this year will be fully as great as the increase this year over last. There are more missionaries, and in addition Congressional appropriations will be available for the expenses of attendance.

This internal evidence of the value of the camps is confirmed by expert military opinion. General Wood, who had most to do with the camp at Plattsburg, has many times expressed his high commendation; and practically all of the regular army officers who have taken part in the administration or instruction have been enthusiastic over the results.

The Plattsburg movement has already had some effect upon military legislation, though less than can be hoped for. The army reorganization bill of 1916, in spite of its glaring defects, contains two features of special interest to Plattsburg men. Section 37 of the act provides for the organization, under such rules and regulations as the President may prescribe, of an

Officers' Reserve Corps, for the purpose of securing a reserve of officers available for service as temporary officers in the regular army. Appointments may be made by the President in all grades up to and including that of major, after examination for physical, mental and moral qualifications. The number of second lieutenants who may be appointed is unlimited; in the higher grades the proportion of officers appointed in any section shall not exceed the proportion in the same grade in the corresponding arm of the regular army. Second lieutenants will not be appointed after the age of thirty-two, first lieutenants after thirty-six, or captains after forty. Commissions hold good for five years unless the age limit for appointment to the same grade is sooner reached, in which case the holder will receive an honorable discharge unless he qualifies for appointment to a higher grade. In time of war the officers of the reserve corps are subject to such duty as the President may prescribe; in time of peace they may be ordered out for instruction with troops or at field exercises, for periods not to exceed fifteen days in any one calendar year.

The other section of the new bill, important in this connection, is section 54, which authorizes explicitly the establishment of such civilian training camps as those at Plattsburg, and in addition authorizes the Secretary of War to provide uniforms, maintenance and transportation at the expense of the United States. This section was incorporated in the bill through the efforts of the Military Training Camps Association. The effectiveness of the provision for payment, however, was postponed for some months by a delay in passing the necessary appropriation bill.

Among the benefits of the Plattsburg education must be reckoned the realization of our military deficiency in respect not only to men and training, but to equipment. Our general lack of military system and our inadequate army have been due to public sentiment, which has been negligent or absorbed in other directions, so that the citizenship of the country as a whole is to blame. But the amazing shortage in material, such as guns, horses and ammunition, is a fault of administration the blame for which must be placed on war departments and military affairs committees. If we are to have big coast defense guns, it would seem beyond argument that they should be mounted to shoot their full range, and that ammunition must

be in existence to serve them more than half an hour's bombardment; but defaults in these respects have been permitted to exist. The new army bill recognizes a ratio of one field gun for about every three hundred and fifty enlisted men. Relying, as we have, on the policy of enlisting a million or more volunteers in case of war, we should therefore have ready for them something like three thousand guns. Yet with only 144 guns in the six regiments of artillery which have been in service it was impossible to obtain more than three 3-inch guns and one 4.7-inch gun for training the artillery students in the Plattsburg camp, and even for these it was impossible to obtain horses and harness enough to draw more than two pieces at the same time. To a suggestion of furnishing additional horses from private means, the official reply was that this would be useless, because *the Government had only two spare sets of harness in the whole eastern department.* The extraordinary pettiness of these deficiencies makes them all the more humiliating.

Training camp life has a remarkably pleasant side as well as a useful one. It is not all work and hardship. Many old friends have gathered from distant cities. New friends are made, many of them to be treasured forever, for much of the salt of the earth is here. There is the joy of the clean lake, the pine trees and the distant mountains, and the inspiration of a bed on the ground and under the stars (when you have learned to abandon your pup tent). There is the warmth of honest human reaction to strains and to unexpected comforts; keen wit and vital comment; frequent brilliant minds; general well-wishing and sincerity. It is an intellectual pleasure to see the practical perfection of army undertakings. Finally, there is association with vigorous, devoted, unassuming and effective officers of the United States army, an association which creates admiration and may develop into friendship.

The Plattsburg camps have occasionally been criticized as undemocratic. The charge is baseless. It is the kind of criticism which comes from people who attend a gathering in order to get profit from the fact that other people, whose names they read in the papers, are also there. The great majority of the attendants at the camps, to be sure, are graduates of leading colleges, and many of them have achieved marked success in their careers; many also have been men of financial or social

prominence. The newspapers may have recorded much of the doings of these individuals to satisfy popular demand. It is a tribute to the spirit of the colleges that so many of their graduates have followed the call. In the camp organization there is no room for cliques, as the men in the several companies are grouped in squads, for living as well as drilling purposes, according to the arbitrary and uncompromising standard of height. Nothing is more democratic than the enthusiastic working together of men from all conditions and origins, shoulder to shoulder in a common cause. If the appointments to rank often go to the men who have achieved prominence in civil life, it is but another recognition of the same qualities operating in a new field. Neither here nor elsewere does democracy mean equality of inefficiency.

The reality of Plattsburg democracy is not impaired by the fact that those attending have heretofore been obliged to pay all their own expenses. It is impossible to know how far this necessity has prevented men from attending. Probably very few have been denied the opportunity if they particularly desired it; certainly many of slender means have found a way of attending and taking high position. Nevertheless it is entirely proper that the government should pay the cost, and Congress has now so enacted. It must not be overlooked, however, that the assumption of this burden by the government increases the responsibility of those in training, and the officers in charge will be justified in a greater use of penalties to enforce discipline. It is not impossible that free uniforms, sustenance and transportation will bring to future camps a few individuals with a different attitude and a less serious point of view.

In a very far-reaching and significant sense, Plattsburg stands constructively for a stronger democracy. It teaches that with universal rights go universal obligations to preserve the common interests, both in peace and in war. Many a man whose patriotism has never before had practical expression, who has never even attended a primary or contributed a dollar of his money or an evening of his time to a public cause, has learned at Plattsburg that America can be preserved only by taking pains, and by sacrifice of the over-individualistic point of view. Every able-bodied man must, if needed, take part in a war for national defense, and the impossibility of effective military action without pre-

liminary training has convinced most Plattsburg men of the propriety and wisdom of making military training universal and compulsory. In these days of sudden mobilization and assault, we cannot afford to wait and see whether we approve of a particular war before we begin learning how to fight. Without ready strength, there is no freedom of choice. In the August camp at Plattsburg a vote for universal military training was practically unanimous.

The extent and kind of training are matters for further consideration, but Plattsburg's approval of the principle, coming after the great increase in attendance and the formal Congressional recognition of training camps, seems to promise a country-wide response to the idea, and the eventual enactment of sound legislation to this end.

WHAT I LEARNED AT PLATTSBURG[1]

The American Newspaper is constitutionally incapable of presenting even the first elementary accurate impression of the training camps recently held at Plattsburg Barracks for the benefit of the plain armchair citizen. A peaceful student like myself, recently Number 3 in the second rank of Squad 15, Company G, second battalion of the provisional regiment, finds it quite impossible to proceed with the narrative of his impressions and benefits received with the conception presented by the press as a background. I neither saw nor heard of, nor have anything to relate about the camp I have been reading of in the Sunday editions. To my mind the attitude of the place has been totally and ignorantly distorted and misrepresented in the best of American journalistic style.

To begin with, from the papers one might suppose this regimental drill—the incessant and thorough routine, the strenuous manœuvres and the dead level of the same uniform and the same diet and the same contempt for all precedents and authorities extant in the world not embodied in the corporal, the sergeant, and the captain of the company—was really only the masquerade of a society function.

The news of this great athletic camp, of this team composed

[1] By Ralph W. Page. World's Work. 31: 105-8. November, 1915.

entirely and exclusively of fighters and marchers and sharpshooters in the making, was ridiculously larded with the names of insignificant privates and amateur corporals, whose place in the scheme of things there was that of the novice. There is an obvious parallel between a football team and an army, and between the training of a fullback and a first-rate squad leader. And any graduate of Yale or Princeton, with the vaguest memory of the rigor of the early season and the discipline of the second team, would rightly receive with unmitigated disgust any attempt to report the training of this University eleven which dwelt exclusively on the abortive efforts of the heir apparent of some celebrity in the fifth scrub to drop on the ball without fracturing a rib. No one on earth is concerned with the pedigree or the floral home surroundings of the dirty urchins that charge up and down Soldiers Field in November in preparation for the annual battle with Yale, least of all the head coach. His eyes are directed exclusively to the selection of nerve and stamina, of steady eyes and strong wills and tough muscles and daring dispositions. And the sixty-yard punter is the hero of them all.

Now the most important and fundamental thing about this Plattsburg camp is that from start to finish this was exactly the attitude of the officers and of every private I saw. It is of enormous moment to the people of the United States that the men they have trained and rely upon for the making of their Army, and in the last ditch to revive the Spartan spirit and remold us into the stern stuff our soldiers are made of, should be thorough, efficient, and determined; that from the instant the roll is called the drab of superficial distinctions and the froth of histrionic interest be eliminated.

Now this was the case exactly. I went to Plattsburg as ignorant of military life as I am of celestial life, but with a schoolboy respect and pride in the Army. I came away tired and awakened, but with a firmer and deeper respect for the West Point graduate and the enlisted man. They mean business, and it was a tremendous satisfaction to have been forced to play a real game for all it was worth.

The Day's Work at Plattsburg.

However, the perspective of the reporter and the camera man was probably at its worst with regard to "propaganda." Let us suppose you had been called from a dreamless sleep making

careful headway toward about eleven o'clock by the clear tones of a bugle blasting at sunrise, had lined up with your neighbors like a picket fence and proceeded to exercise every limb and crick in your body with the violence of a drowning man merely as an eyeopener—had played valet, chambermaid, bootblack, garbageman, barber, and policeman, eaten your breakfast and cleaned your gun, and like the tortoise put your house and your kitchen and your arms and your bed in a neat bundle on your back and proceeded down the big road at a lively trot by seven-thirty; had strained both your intellect and your tendon of Achilles in fantastic endeavor to obey the crisp final orders of a Czar involving every possible turn and gait, standing, kneeling, crawling, and extending over miles of territory; that you arrived back barely in time for the necessary swim before dinner and the cavalry drill; that one o'clock found your aching legs plastered to a horse with the habits of a fiddler crab, whose action for two hours you were supposed to conform to the vagaries of the commander; and let us suppose, which is the case, that you got back just in time to empty the vaseline can and mop your brow and shoulder your Springfield and tie on your belt and bayonet and march left front into line around and around and around while the band played and the divinity at the head of the column carried conviction that you were an ignoramus and a mollycoddle.

That is a long sentence. But it is not hypothetical. It is the exact record of the eighth day until mess call. Now I wish to ask this: Suppose, having occupied your day thus, and eaten dinner, and then been lined up again and marched to listen to a lecture on ordnance as terse, accurate, definite, and instructive as a demonstration in calculus—and then some pleasant gentleman had arisen to make some ordinary remarks from the outside world about things in general and "preparedness" and such, wouldn't you be disgusted if your evening paper hailed him as the great card and listening to him as the day's work?

It was a mistake to have any "propaganda" at all. But the confusing of this month of shooting and marching and discipline with a talkfest is a crime.

The Making of an Officer.

The most biased observer would be compelled to admit that the provisional regiment received the most thorough and rigorous

possible month's training in the school of the soldier. It is supposed that this training is to fit the men to be officers in volunteer regiments in case of necessity. To the layman engaged in this course it is very plain that the training could not conceivably make a competent officer of any civilian. First of all one must be a soldier. And then be leader of a few men. And at this point the art of war, of the tactician and the strategist, the ordnance officer and the engineer, begins. These branches were quite beyond the possibilities of the instruction provided. But it must be of great interest to thousands of countrymen ignorant of what it is all about to know exactly what a normal recruit in this game did, and what he learned, and what good he received.

To begin with, neither you, nor I, nor the moonshiner in the mountain, nor the moose hunter on the lakes in our normal state could be called of any use whatever as a soldier. I've heard this said. But now I know it. And this is worth knowing. On the other hand, it is not such a complicated thing. In the end it comes down to these things pure and simple—to be physically fit to march any distance; to be able to shoot straight under the most terrifying possible circumstances—and to acquire by practice the habit, equal to second nature, of obeying a few fundamental commands. The rest is hardihood, courage, the will to fight, and the spirit of the team.

Now the very essence of this is physical condition. That as a nation we are individually not in such condition was very strikingly shown at the manœuvres. This Plattsburg regiment was recruited largely from athletes—polo and football players, militiamen, big game hunters, and such people, probably far above the average of our citizens. They had a month's very vigorous training. And yet ten miles was the utmost limit they could cover as a body in march in one day. Yet the 30th United States Infantry two days before the amateur war began arrived at camp about 4:30 in the afternoon, having covered thirty-two miles to a man since reveille.

Teaching the Art of Soldiering.

Here is the way they set about making soldiers of us: We rolled into camp in a string of automobiles and trucks, with one armored car, heralded far and wide as the only armored car in America, Captain Reynal Bollings, provisional captain, in charge of Captain Smedburg, United States Army expert in the matter

of machine guns. We were equipped with nothing but an olive drab uniform, a tin can, called a mess kit, a blanket and a poncho, an automatic and a bolo. We were provided a dozen tents and a box of pegs, and proceeded to combine these into an orderly row of habitations.

We slept soundly, six in a tent. The trumpet called us forth at 5:30, and at 6 o'clock we were lined up in full regalia, and no time wasted in teaching the manual of arms, squad formations, and those details of the parade ground familiar to all. We proceeded at the double quick to the main camp half a mile away for breakfast. This breakfast was excellent and wholesome and quite plain and satisfactory. Then at 7:30 the assembly call brought the infantry companies to attention. Every man belonged to one of these eight companies. Mine was Company G. This was marched out into the main road, lined up, and the men placed according to sizes and divided into squads of eight. These squads were placed in command of the nearest available recruit who had previous experience. Then for two weeks from 7:30 to 11:30 or 12, with diminishing periods of rest as the days wore on, we struggled through the formal close formation drills, each day with more and more equipment on our backs. I would not exchange the mere exercise for any other experience I have had since college days. Three hours each morning of invigorating action, the ever increasing appearance of form and cohesion to the company, and the spirit of loyalty and friendship for the men in the platoon began to give us a faint glimmer of what a team is—of what makes an army corps.

We were then told that these drills were mere one-finger exercises, the calisthenics of the Army, in no way a part of the real game, except in so far as they accustomed men to the feel of a rifle and to respond to the voice of command. Only one thing is of the essence: to be proficient in battle.

Men battle on their stomachs. From that day on we spent our mornings in extended order—which is to say in a long line stretched prone across the landscape, a mountain on our weary backs and the Springfield snapping at the visionary foe. We advanced in squads or platoons at top speed for miles—we crawled over ten thousand acres, and we charged, until dizzy, all over the country. This, my friend, is no easy task. It gives you an abnormal respect for the real fighting man. To advance a mile on your belly, or by rushes, carrying thirty-eight bounds, besides shooting an eight-pound rifle the whole way, after a long

march, even when no burst of shrapnel enhances the entertainment, is very strenuous business.

The Democracy of Plattsburg.

If the average youth throughout the country appreciated in the slightest degree what he would gain in physique, in mental stamina, and in broad democratic association by a month of this citizen soldiery, there would not be officers or pastures or bayonets enough in the country to accommodate them. I never had even a glimmering conception of what this country is, or by whom it was inhabited, until I ranged alongside a haphazard thousand men from its workshops, and sang in close harmony with them of an evening. They were all boys—impulsive, friendly, eager to know and to learn, gregarious and hearty. The uniform is a wonderful leveller. At the end of a long march when the ranks blew in, dirty and tired and unshaken, there was no human being could tell, and none cared to know, who was the millionaire and who was the plumber. The cheerfulest man was the greatest man, and the sturdiest man the leader. And your squad were your comrades, your chance bunkies your ancient pals, and men came to know in a natural and respectful way dozens of others from distant places, with different views and connections.

And not the least of it is the discovery by the layman of the soldiers of the United States. We were all enlisted men by rank and by costume, and with the enlisted man we fraternized. Many an hour we spent discussing the details of soldiering with the veterans of our little campaigns, and is should be recorded that we were received by the professionals with a friendly and hearty courtesy, were instructed by them on the ranges and in the march and at odd moments—were rendered by them innumerable services for nothing, and treated by them on the manœuvres as comrades and soldiers. This is a very high tribute to their kindness and consideration. Coming from Plattsburg, one no longer views the Army as a mythical and unknown thing, composed of officers and God knows what or who.

Besides a modicum of health and a disturbing sense of ignorance and an enormous respect for the Springfield rifle and the advantage of cover and an understanding of what it requires to become as one of the regulars, not to mention a first lieutenant, we gained a certain amount of definite military information, which it is our duty to impart to our friends at home.

CAMP WASHINGTON POINTS THE WAY[1]

Application of the "Plattsburg idea" to boys has been the experiment which has centered the attention of some of the ablest army officers in the United States this summer. The success of the work this year has far more bearing on permanent plans for preparedness than any of the experiments in intensive military training which have been tried so far, not including Plattsburg itself. Officers of a reserve, like officers in the regular service, should receive the elements of military instruction before coming to maturity, and whereas at Plattsburg grown men have been instructed in the elements of military training, the boys' camp afforded to youngsters under eighteen an opportunity to acquire this elementary knowledge, so that by the time they are old enough to go to Plattsburg they will be ready to start learning the more difficult and interesting duties which they must be prepared to undertake in case of emergency.

The experiment has been worked out at Fort Terry, the coast artillery post on Plum Island, off Greenpoint, L. I. The official name of the camp is Camp Washington. Its commander is Lieut. Col. Andrew Hero, Jr., of the Coast Artillery Corps. Here more than 1,200 picked American lads finished a four week's course in intensive training during July, and over 1,000 others were enrolled for the August camp. This training is under officers of the regular army, cadet first class men from the Military Academy at West Point, and a number of selected Plattsburg veterans, the latter acting as junior officers of the eight companies into which the Plum Island Training Regiment is divided.

As General Leonard Wood recently pointed out, the boys' training camp on Plum Island is the logical progression of the Plattsburg idea. It means that, beginning with next year, there will enroll in camps at Plattsburg and in other parts of the country probably 1,000 boys who will enter the freshman classes of various colleges and universities this Fall. These boys will go into camp fully prepared and qualified to undergo more rigorous instruction than they are now receiving at Plum Island. After graduating from the college men's camps, the Plum Island alumni will be eligible for the senior camps—those for business and professional men—and when they have finished that course every one who survives the test will be qualified to undertake,

[1] American Defense. 1: 314-15. September, 1916.

in the event of a crisis, the duties of a junior commander of troops in the field.

The plan to establish a training camp for boys between the ages of 15 and 18 years was broached to General Wood at Governors Island by a number of prominent citizens several months ago. General Wood saw that the idea was a good one and gave it his unqualified indorsement. A committee of citizens was organized to take charge of the recruiting. Offices were opened at 475 Fifth Avenue, and in less than one month headmasters and the principals of two-thirds of the preparatory and high schools of the country had given the plan their indorsement, and put it before their pupils.

Neither General Wood nor the committee had any idea that the enrollment would go much above the 500 mark for the first year. But instead of 500 the committee found itself swamped with applications from all parts of the country. From 324 different boys' schools, representing twenty-four states, the applications came, and the committee was called upon to provide for the training of 1,200 boys at the July camp. So great was the number of those who could not be accommodated at the July camp that it was decided to hold a second camp during August for another 1,000.

General Wood has clearly expressed himself on the lessons which the Plum Island camp seeks to inculcate. He said:

"The purpose of this camp is a very serious one, and that purpose is to prepare these boys to discharge effectively their duties as soldiers of the United States in the event of their being called upon to defend the country.

"We want them to be able to discharge their military duties as efficiently as they will be able, I am sure, to discharge those that will devolve upon them in the ordinary pursuits of civil life. We want these boys to know and always to remember that there are some things in this world worth fighting for if the time should ever come to defend them, and to realize that when a nation reaches that point where it has nothing worth fighting for, that nation has about run its course. God, country, and home are things that every red-blooded man knows are worth defending, and if these boys are ever face to face with the necessity of providing that defense we want them so prepared that they can do it well.

"We don't want these boys and young men of ours sent un-

prepared to the first line to be slaughtered by a better prepared and more efficient enemy. We want them to have a sportsman's chance, for without training, without organization, and without equipment, we cannot expect successfully to meet men just as good morally, physically, and intellectually as we are, and who have the advantage of efficient organization, training, and leadership. That is the basic thing behind these training camps at Plattsburg, Plum Island, and other places."

The morning routine followed at Camp Washington is that of the Regular Army, although it is modified to some extent to meet the special requirements of the boys.

The afternoons are devoted to elective courses in radio-telegraphy, coast artillery work with the big guns at Fort Terry, gasoline engines, electricity and the searchlight, map-making and signaling. The various companies are shown how to use the six-inch mortars in the pits, and the ten-inch disappearing guns. There are intercompany baseball games, track meets, and the boys are allowed to swim within an area carefully marked by buoys, with motor boats and rowboats patroling the outer limits. Supper comes at 5:30, and at 9:30 "taps" sound, lights go out, and Camp Washington goes to sleep. Before the July encampment closed General Wood reviewed the regiment, and afterward the boys formed in a great circle on the parade ground and the General talked to them in plain soldier fashion.

"You boys," said General Wood, "have played games and you know how foolish it would be to say, 'We have the biggest school. We do not need to train for the football game. We are natural players.' Now, this sort of talk would go for nothing. We have never had a great war with a first-class power. We had one great war, the civil war. For two years we had no effective army in the field. We wasted thousands of lives, the price of an unintelligent military policy. We do not want that to happen again. We want you fellows to get your training before you are 21, and then be held on the active list probably until you are about 30. Such an arrangement would give us about 4,500,000 available men.

"Some foolish people have said that we could raise 1,000,000 men between morning and night. A few of us have been sitting up night and day trying to raise 54,000 in four weeks, and we have had a hard time to do it. You find that you cannot do this great thing without preparation. You cannot do it without time.

You cannot meet men just as good as yourselves without trai ing. You are part of the country, and in a democracy you mu remember equality of obligation goes hand in hand with equali of opportunity. This is a big thing to remember. You cann trust to anybody else.

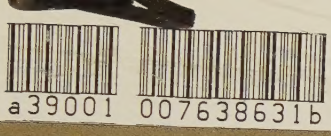
"There are some kinds of peace which are worse than a war. We do not want war. Nobody wants it that knows an thing about it. But if we do not want it, the best way is to g ready for it, be prepared against it. The training received is useful to you in everyday affairs of life as in war. The hab of concentration, respect for superiors, and obedience will a ways be useful to you.

"Washington and Jefferson preached universal military se vice. Jefferson in a letter to Monroe said that we must ma military training obligatory in all schools and colleges. He d fended the raising and maintaining of 300,0000 men, althou the population of the country at that time was only three a one-half millions. He said that we must train and classify o entire male population.

"Washington also advocated universal military training in fo warding, with his approval, the recommendation of Gene Knox for the training and classifying of all our men.

"There is another result which comes from this general trai ing, this working together, shoulder to shoulder, and that is— tends to make America a real melting pot, a melting pot whi will turn out a homogeneous mass, a mass of real Americanis This working together shoulder to shoulder is the strongest ki of an influence obliterating the distinction between Jew a Gentile, rich and poor, upper and lower social classes. It ten for national solidity, to make us think in terms of the nati rather than in terms of the individual. You young men are t beginners in a great movement, a movement which is going end in the establishment of universal military training. I ho to see each year greatly increasing numbers of you in can The movement is gaining tremendous impetus and will so sweep over the country."

The example which these boys have set cannot fail to impr the communities from which they come, and to inspire thinki citizens generally to study the great question of universal tra ing and service and the benefits which its adoption will bring the nation and to the individuals composing it.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